Missionary Pioneers in India

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BY

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EDINBURGH
ANDREW ELLIOT, 17 PRINCES STREET
1896

In these pages the beginnings are faintly traced of the work of the gospel in India in modern times, as this is shown in the lives of men who did pioneering work when that work was needed. These men bravely held the field in days when sympathy was not given to Foreign Missions as it is now freely rendered on all hands. Their life and work may be like a mountain rill over which a child may step, but it has broadened into a river whose waters are now fertilizing the earth.

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BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG.

"If there is one man who is to the modern missionary movement in India what Wyclif was to the English Reformation, its herald and morning star, that man is Bartholomew Ziegenbalg."

MUCH has been said regarding a century of modern missions, dating from 1793, the year when William Carey landed in India. But before that time there were brave men who had done what they could to carry the gospel to the Hindoos, men like Christian Frederick Schwartz, who arrived in Tranquebar in 1750. His life in India extended over no fewer than forty-eight years, and he was the means of greatly spreading the knowledge of Christ both among Europeans and natives. But Schwartz, hero though he was, was not the first to preach the gospel in India. Not to speak of missions in other countries, such as those of the Moravians begun by Count Zinzendorf, who sent missionaries to St Thomas in the West Indies in 1732, and to Greenland in the following year, but restricting our enquiry to India, we find that the beginner of modern mission work there was Bartholomew Ziegenbalg.

He was born in the little Saxon town of Pulsnitz in 1683, exactly two hundred years after the birth of a still more famous Saxon—Martin Luther. It was a time when the German Church was awakening from the formal orthodoxy which had controlled the pulpit and dried up the currents of spiritual life. The Thirty Years' War had brought troubles enough with it, and men sought for something truer and deeper than was then usual in German theology. The spiritual revival which supplied this lack was miscalled Pietism: but its teachers and its results prove that however it was nicknamed it was a true work and that its origin was from above. One of the headquarters of this revival was the University of Halle, where Francke, best known to us by his Orphan House, was Professor of Oriental Languages. In Berlin, Lange the rector of the High School, and Spener the king's chaplain were the heads of the movement. It was from this new life of German Pietism that Ziegenbalg and Plutscho went forth to India.

One evening in March 1705 King Frederick IV. of Denmark sat in his palace reading some letters and dispatches. As he glanced over them his eye rested on the petition of a poor widow whose husband and son had been killed in a native out-

break at Tranquebar. The king was uneasy, for he was then engaged in war with Sweden; and as he read the widow's petition asking for redress, his thoughts troubled him. Tranquebar—a husband and a son killed there. Yes; but what of the Hindoos there? What had been done either by the Christian Church in Denmark or by the king to send the gospel to India? Nothing at all. For eighty years Danish ships had sailed to India; Danish merchants had grown rich through that trade; and Danish soldiers had come and gone from their native land to India: but no Christian missionary had gone to carry the gospel there. The king was vexed and sad and repentant. Hastily he summoned Lutkens his chaplain, and asked him to procure men for the work. Lutkens was both surprised and delighted at the task committed to him, but he knew that Christians in Denmark were no more alive to foreign missions than in any other country in Europe. Knowing how almost impossible it was to get such men, he said to the king, "Send me"; but though the king recognized this self-sacrifice, he could not part with Lutkens, whom he now sent on an errand of enquiry to get the men who were needed.

Such is the popular version of the story of how the Danish mission to India took its rise. Perhaps

all the details cannot be verified, but in outline at all events it is true.

Lutkens turned to Lange, who after consultation wrote to Ziegenbalg, then acting as assistant pastor in a parish near Berlin, and proposed to him that he should go to Africa or the West Indies as a missionary, telling him of the king's desire and that Henry Plutscho, one of his old fellow-students, had also been requested to accompany him in the work. Ziegenbalg thought of declining the task as too great for him; but the feeling came over him that not to go would be to resist God's will, so he yielded. He and Plutscho reached Copenhagen on 16th October, and then found for the first time that their destination was Tranquebar.

There is an old book, few copies of which are extant, which will enable us to follow in some degree the fortunes of these two missionaries. The title is as follows: "Propagation of the Gospel in the East. Being an Account of the Success of two Danish Missionaries lately sent to the East Indies for the Conversion of the Heathens in Malabar, in several Letters to their Correspondents in Europe, Containing a Narrative of their Voyage to the coast of Coromandel, their Settlement at Tranquebar, the Divinity and Philosophy of the Malabarians, their Language and Manners, the Impediments obstruct-

ing their Conversion, the several Methods taken by the Missionaries, the wonderful Providences attending them, and the Progress they have already made. Rendered into English from the High Dutch; and Dedicated to the Most Honourable Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. London, 1718."

Omitting their voyage with its incidents and its protracted length, so very unlike modern travel, we see them land at Tranquebar on 9th July 1706. It is a day never to be forgotten, for then the first Protestant missionaries set foot on India. "It was early in the morning," writes Dr Fleming Stevenson, "and they were ordered to remain in a house before the gate till the Governor had leisure to come in the afternoon. On his arrival, assuming the utmost roughness, he asked what brought them there? They were a mere nuisance. What could he do? That was no place for missionaries. They were not wanted. What could the king know about such things? And so turned upon his heel and withdrew with his suite to the fort.

"Petrified by this contempt for the king's mandate as much as cast down by so unexpected a reception, the two young men slowly followed, expecting that some one would inform them of the arrangements made for their stay. But at the market

square the group suddenly separated, and in a moment Governor, council and chaplain had disappeared, and the square was empty. The sun had set, and as the houses were already shrouded in gloom, the strangers could not tell what turn to take, but watched and waited under the silent stars, the first Protestant missionaries that ever stood on Indian soil, wondering much what would happen next, and bethinking themselves that even the Son of Man had not where to lay His head."

Such was the reception that was first given to the gospel in India. The hostility of the Danish officials had not been reckoned on by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho. For the first few days they were sheltered by one of the Governor's suite, and they were afterwards allowed to occupy a house where they settled down to their work.

They immediately set themselves to learn Portuguese and Tamil, or, as Ziegenbalg calls it, Malabarick, the two languages used there. They resolved that one of them should "get the language of the country," *i.e.* Portuguese, making that his chief method of communication with the natives, while the other should devote himself principally to Malabarick. "In order hereto we cast lots, and the lot falling on Mr Plutscho, he readily embraced it, and now applieth himself entirely to the learning

of that language. As for me, though I don't design to be quite without the knowledge thereof—spending an hour or two every day to that purpose—yet the chief bent of my endeavour will be to set down the more substantial points of the Christian doctrine in Portuguese and get 'em translated by some able interpreter into Malabarick, whereby one thing or other will stick to my memory from time to time. To facilitate the whole design we maintain a particular schoolmaster in the house in hopes that God will second it with His blessing."

On 1st October of that year, the anniversary of the date when the "dear fathers and brethren offered me that pastoral function which I am now actually entered upon for the service of the Malabar heathen," Ziegenbalg writes, freely confessing that it is very hard to make any impression upon their minds, and gives these reasons: the scandalous and corrupted lives of the Christians who reside there; secondly, that the idolatrous worship seems to the heathen to have more pleasantness in it than the doctrine of Christ, fancying as they do that theirs is "of an earlier date and contains more curious and delightful pastimes" than the Bible; thirdly, that their conversion is much obstructed by the conduct of the Roman Catholics, who used to decoy them into Christianity by all manner of

sinister practices and underhand dealings—hence the fear which the heathen entertained of the new missionaries; fourthly, the fact that some hundreds of Roman Catholic converts were then wandering about begging bread from door to door, neither food nor employment having been provided for them; and last, the fact that all who became Christians—except heads of families—are presently banished from their whole estate and kindred, and dare not come near them again.

They had also set up a small charity school for Malabarian boys, providing them with food and "instructing 'em also in their and our language, and chiefly in the fundamental principles of Christian knowledge." A remarkable statement: *our* language, that is German. In some respects this was an anticipation of Dr Alexander Duff's method of teaching Hindoo students by means of the English language. Ziegenbalg adds these rather astonishing words: "Truly the training up of children will be of the greatest consequence in this affair. If we were but able to *purchase* and to maintain a pretty many of 'em, the work might undoubtedly spread abroad in a little while, and under the blessing of God produce the desired effect."

As one means of raising funds to support this

school, he says, "We have indeed fastened an alms-box in our house, *but we find nothing in it but what we put in ourselves.* For this reason we have most humbly petitioned his majesty the king of Denmark to assist us with some generous relief. But since this new work both in its first foundation and the succeeding progress will prove very expensive, we at the same time entreat also all the well-wishers to the cause of God to commiserate the deplorable state of these poor heathens, and by some charitable and bountiful effusions, tending to the maintenance of the body, to advance the conversion of these deluded souls." As this appeal to the king of Denmark and to the generosity of those who might be reached by Ziegenbalg's letter could not produce any result "till two years hence," owing to the tediousness of the voyage between India and Europe, they proposed to use part of their salary, and perhaps to borrow money on interest from the natives for the purpose of proceeding at once in these endeavours. This letter ends: "My dear fellow-labourer, Mr Plutscho, and my servant Modaliapa, the first-fruits of the heathens, send their kind greeting to you in the Lord."

With great artlessness Ziegenbalg writes in

another of his letters: "We find by experience that for propagating the gospel among the heathens, next to the grace of God nothing is more expedient—as for any outward help—than a blameless life, and a seasonable supply of money for establishing all manner of good foundations."

For the existence and extension of the charity school, funds were needed, as he writes repeatedly. "For the right settling and increasing whereof *we must buy such children—and this now and then at a high rate too—as their parents are willing to part with;* which one time necessity obliges them to; another time perhaps some other reasons, which God knows."

In September 1707, the year following their arrival, Ziegenbalg writes expressing his grief at not having received any European letters that year, notwithstanding their having written so frequently to their friends in Europe. But he charges them with no fault; the means of communication two hundred years ago were not to be compared with what we enjoy. "Last year," he says, "when the ships returned to Europe, I fell dangerously ill, and the distemper holding me above a month, made me pine away to that degree that both myself and others with me

began to despair of my recovery. However, the Lord having been graciously pleased once more to restore me, it has now so much the more excited me entirely to spend the rest of my days in the service of God by how much the less my health was expected. My dear colleague having renewed with me this resolution, we began afresh to apply ourselves to the work we were sent about, notwithstanding the many oppositions we are like to encounter, most certainly believing that God would never forsake us in a work sincerely begun for His glory."

Soon after their arrival they began to hold public worship in their own house for the benefit of Europeans residing in Tranquebar; and the governor had now become so friendly that he even procured them the use of the Danish church, to which this service was then transferred. This happened in December 1706, and was a great comfort and joy to them. "By this means we had now a fair opportunity to lay the word of God before heathens, Mohammedans and Christians. Truly we often did not know from whence to fetch the necessary supplies to support both spirit and body, having been all along engaged from morning till night to converse with all sorts of people. . . . The first of our baptismal acts was

solemnly performed in the Danish church with five heathens which were christened after they had given an account of all the articles of the Christian faith. This they did with such readiness of mind that many old people were ashamed thereat, and we ourselves convinced they had a sound sense of what they outwardly performed."

How great their encouragement was may be seen from what he says about the building of a church, in the erection of which they had hitherto been disappointed. "In the name of God, and in hopes of being supported by our king, we laid the foundation of a church, bestowing thereon all whatever we could possibly spare from our yearly pension. Every one that saw it laughed at it as a silly and rash design, and cried us down for sots, venturing too boldly upon a thing which they thought would certainly come to nothing. However, we prosecuted our design in the name of God, a friend sending fifty rixdollars towards it. By this forwardness of our work the enemies were confounded, and some of 'em did then contribute something themselves towards accomplishing the whole affair; which proved no small comfort to us. Thus is the building finished at last, and fitted up for a church congregation. It lies without the town in the midst of a multitude

of Malabarians near the high road, built all of stone. It was consecrated the fourteenth of August, which was the eighth Sunday after Trinity, in the presence of a great conflux of heathens, Mahommedans and Christians, who had a sermon preached to them, both in Portuguese and Malabarick. . . . Multitudes of people flock together to hear us, Malabarians, Blacks and Christians, every one being allowed to come in, let him be heathen, Mohammedan, Papist or Protestant. . . . At this rate the work of God runs on amain. Our congregation consists of sixty-three persons; and another is to be baptised to-morrow." He also asks that "two persons more might be sent over to assist us in the work so happily begun."

In October 1707 he sends to Germany a copy of "the four gospels done into Malabarick after having them carefully perused according to the Original," as well as several other minor translations. An Indian idol made of gold had been presented to him by some of the converts, and this he sent as a gift to the king of Denmark. "For the present," he writes, "we are destitute of all necessary supplies for carrying on the work, being in daily expectation of the happy arrival of the ships coming from Europe. . . . Great is the

harvest, but the number of true and faithful labourers very small; and therefore we most heartily desire the concurrence of your prayers and supplications."

When Ziegenbalg and Plutscho had acquired the Portuguese and Malabarick languages, and were busily engaged preaching the gospel, they found that their greatest want was a translation of the Scriptures. A translation in Portuguese did exist, but was extremely rare and not to be purchased even for ready money. They secured one copy, printed at Batavia; and two other missionaries—one of whom was Grundler—who were sent out to assist them, bought a second copy at the Cape of Good Hope. The New Testament in Malabarick did not exist. Ziegenbalg therefore set himself to do the necessary translation; but first, as a trial of his skill, he translated some smaller books. He began the New Testament on 17th October 1708, and finished it 21st March 1711. The New Testament in Malabarick was now an accomplished fact; but how were copies of it to be procured? for they had no printing press.

When the volume of Ziegenbalg's and Plutscho's letters was published in Europe it produced an immediate effect both in Germany and Denmark

and England; and liberal contributions were given to help the work. From Denmark "several charitable contributions have been remitted to Tranquebar, gathered by the Rev. Dr Lutkens, one of his majesty's chaplains, and the very first person that put the king upon this Christian attempt. But he being lately dead, the missionaries have lost an eminent benefactor by the death of that gentleman."

The letters were published in England in 1709, and a second volume in 1710, and at once sympathy was evoked and help willingly rendered. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge resolved to give assistance by sending them an impression of the New Testament in Portuguese along with a sum of money for the support of their charity school. The Society elected Ziegenbalg and Plutscho corresponding members, and funds having been freely contributed, the Society also resolved to supply the missionaries with a printing press, six hundredweight of roman and italic type, and one hundred reams of paper. A printer was also engaged to go with these goods to Tranquebar, and to labour there as a schoolmaster and printer: his name was Jonas Finck, a native of Silesia. The fleet which sailed from England for India in the beginning of 1711 carried Mr

Finck as well as two hundred and fifty copies of the gospel of Matthew in Portuguese and "a present of money in foreign silver, together with some sums in bills of exchange to enable the missionaries to carry on more effectually their design. All these goods, together with the person attending them, were embarked freight free on board one of the ships of the Honourable East India Company, who have all along not only granted a free passage to such persons and goods as were designed for a support of this work, but have also most readily laid their commands on their Governors in India to protect and countenance the Protestant mission in those parts."

The Portuguese New Testament was not ready when this fleet sailed, but was printed off about the end of the same year; and in the beginning of 1712, two hundred and fourteen copies, together with a set of mathematical instruments, were shipped for India. In this year, however, news arrived in England that the vessel carrying the printer and the gospels had been captured at Rio Janeiro by a French squadron, the printer made prisoner, and the goods confiscated. However, a negotiation was carried out by which the vessel was ransomed and the printer set free along with the press and the paper. The ship then resumed her voyage,

but Jonas Finck died before reaching the Cape of Good Hope. The printing press, paper and types were carried to India and delivered at last to the missionaries at Tranquebar. "There happened one thing at Brazil, when the French took possession of the ship, too material to be passed over in silence. It relateth to the aforesaid two hundred and fifty copies of the gospel of St Matthew designed for the Portuguese church and school at Tranquebar. But undergoing now the same fate as the rest of the goods did, they were seized on by the French, and upon sight of their being Portuguese books, dispersed among the inhabitants of that country: where perhaps under the gracious influence of heaven they may prove helpful towards the conviction of some of those in whose hands they were left."

About November 1712 Mr Henry Plutscho arrived in London from India: his return was caused by ill health; and he brought with him a Malabarian youth designed to be educated at Halle for the service of the mission. Plutscho laid before the Society much information regarding the mission, the impediments in its way, as well as some means by which it might be advanced. During his stay in England he drew up a *Brief Instruction* in Portuguese containing the first

principles of Christianity, to be used as a primer in the schools at Tranquebar; and the Society immediately ordered a thousand copies to be printed, and half of them to be sent by the first fleet going to India. In the end of the same year three young men arrived in London from Halle on their way to Tranquebar to assist the missionaries, one as a schoolmaster, the other two as printers. Further gifts of paper and books were given to these young men, and the East India Company again carried the goods freight free, "to the no small satisfaction of the well-wishers to the design."

When Ziegenbalg and Plutscho received the printing press they immediately set about using it, and happily they found that in the Danish Company's service there was a man who in his younger days had learned the art of printing. The press was set to work and there was printed off a *primer* for the use of the Portuguese school, and a specimen of the *Method of Salvation*, of which some copies were sent to Europe. This last treatise was described as "the first-fruits of the Word of God bestowed on the heathens by the benefactors in England." Other books were also printed.

Letters from the missionaries, dated September

1712 and January 1713, tell of increasing spiritual prosperity. In the Malabarick and Portuguese churches there were in January 1713, "of persons baptized 207, and catechumens to be prepared for baptism 26. In the five charity schools there were 78 children, of which 59 are clothed and wholly maintained, together with some other persons who are employed in preparing food for the children and other services about the churches and schools. The missionaries hope that in a little time some of the more advanced scholars in the Malabarick school will be fit to be employed in this work in the quality of schoolmasters, catechists, and transcribers."

Ziegenbalg gives a catalogue of "all the Malabarick manuscripts which either have been composed by the missionaries themselves or by them translated from other languages chiefly for the use of the Malabarick church and school." It consists of no fewer than thirty-two works in addition to other fourteen Portuguese books and manuscripts with which they were provided. The following are some of the separate items :—

The whole New Testament.
Luther's Short Catechism.
A collection of some short rules or directions for a Christian life.
The History of the Life of Christ.
The Method of Salvation.

A succinct narrative of the Christian, Jewish, Mohammedan and Pagan Religions.
A Compendium of Divinity.
The Danish Liturgy.
A book of Hymns set to tunes.
The Articles of the Christian Religion.
A Malabar Dictionary compiled out of various authors and provided with a German index.
A Dictionary digested after the order of the Malabarick alphabet, and done in such a manner that the reader at one view may find the Primitive word together with all the Derivatives depending thereon. It contains above 20,000 words all writ on leaves, and is designed to be transcribed on paper and to be printed in time for the benefit of the mission.

At the end of this catalogue there are the words, "May the Lord have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics! And take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of His word; and so fetch them home to His flock that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites and be made one fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end! Amen."

"I must needs say," writes Ziegenbalg, "that notwithstanding this people be led away by a world of errors and delusions, they nevertheless give at times so pertinent answers in matters of religion as perhaps I should have never thought on before. I remember that some of our learned

in Europe have writ entire books upon *Methods and Ways of converting heathens*, whilst they all this while argue with themselves only, and fetch both the objections and the answers from their own stock. Should they come to a closer converse with the pagans and hear their shifts and evasions themselves, they would not find 'em so destitute of argument as we imagine. They are able to baffle now and then one proof alleged for Christianity with ten others brought in against it. It requires an experimental wisdom to convey a saving knowledge into their mind and to convince 'em of the folly of heathenism, and of the truth of Christianity. And this wisdom is not to be had in the barren schools of logic and metaphysics, but must be learned at another university and derived from God Himself for this purpose. The best way is to keep the mind constantly in that temper and serenity that the great God may influence it Himself, and qualify it for so important a work; that so in some degree at least may be obtained what the Lord hath promised to His disciples sent out to preach the gospel, Matt. x. 19. The heathens have abundance of subterfuges whereby they endeavour to vindicate themselves and to frustrate the design of a missionary. If Christians find one error in the doctrine of the heathens, these will

find ten in the life of the Christians. It would be infinitely better if never any Christian had been among 'em, for then their mind would be less prepossessed against Christianity, the free reception whereof is now stifled by many inveterate sins and customs they have all along observed among Christians."

Regarding his dictionary of the Malabar language, Ziegenbalg gives this account: "It comprises above 20,000 words and phrases. In one line the Malabarick is set down in its own character, and in the other is placed the Latin pronunciation, and in the third the German. This work has kept me employed these two years, having read over for that purpose above two hundred Malabarick authors, and taken down the most elegant phrases out of every book. And because this language is very ample and copious I make still daily additions to this dictionary."

He gives an account of the baptism of a Malabar poet; showing that the same methods are used now by relatives of converts to prevent their baptism as were employed two hundred years ago. Here is the story as Ziegenbalg tells it: "They now began to insult him everywhere. . . . His parents thought themselves more particularly obliged to confine their son to

the old way of worship; and this they prosecuted a while with much vigour and fierceness. They shut him up for three days together, and left him all this while without any food. . . . After this his friends and relatives rushed in upon him; and because 'twas just then that one of their great heathenish festivals was to be kept, they would needs have him go to this pageantry, but they could not prevail.

"Being thus everywhere exposed to the insults and menaces of his enraged countrymen, he desired leave from us to retire to some place of privacy, in a house belonging to a widow which is a member of our church. . . . But he soon was found out by his parents, who, with great clamour and violence breaking in upon him, told him plainly they would dispatch him with poison if he should persist any longer in a love to that new religion he was embracing; the mother having a dose of poison already prepared for effecting that black and wicked design. These threatenings not producing the desired effect, they, both father and mother, fell down at his feet, and with most endearing words endeavoured now to gain by offers and promises what could not be obtained by spite and malice. Home he went with his parents, when, after a long discourse

with them, he returned to us again accompanied by his father, who with many fair words entreated us to discharge his son from the service of our house. To this we replied we were willing to do it if he himself did require any such thing. The young man all this while admonished the father not to fight against God. Hereupon the father quitted him with great indignation, but soon after stirred up more than two hundred Malabarians, who, surrounding the young man at a convenient time haled him into a house, and by force would make him forswear the Christian faith. He said he was willing to forswear what was bad but not what was good.

"Being got once more out of their clutches he would venture no more among the heathens hereafter, but most earnestly entreated us to baptise him with all convenient speed, fearing the chief of the country might combine against him and hinder him, if possible, from receiving this ordinance. When we saw his earnest desire for holy baptism, and considering the necessity of going about it without delay, we fixed a day for that purpose. . . . We baptised him the 16th of October last. No sooner was this over but another threatening letter was sent to the Governor by some of the young man's friends.

. . . They required the Governor to deliver up the poet into their hands. . . . The poet himself had a letter sent him by an eminent *Black*, wherein his friends did promise to make him a Governor of a whole country, and swear obedience to him in the presence of the Brahmins, provided he would return to his former religion: but then again they threatened to burn him if he should presume to reject so splendid an offer. Our Governor soon after received a third letter from another of their leading men, importing he would shut up all the avenues to the town unless he made the poet return to his duty. However, our Governor promised to return a smart answer to these busy heathens, in order to allay, if possible, the commotion."

One of the chief features of the Danish mission was the Christian education of children; the missionaries felt that it was not possible to give too much attention and care to this. "I must not forget to tell you," writes Ziegenbalg, "that what taketh me most in this affair is the education of children in India. They are of a good and promising temper; and being not yet possessed with so many headstrong prejudices against the Christian faith, they are the sooner wrought upon, and mollified into a sense of the fear of God.

To tell you the truth, we look on our youth as a stock or nursery from whence in time plentiful supplies may be drawn for enriching our Malabar church with such members as will prove a glory and ornament to the Christian profession. 'Tis true there are but a few of the grown heathens that are willing to be baptised into the name of Christ; and yet 'tis no less true that there is always a concourse of people attending our sermons and other parts of divine service; and many undoubtedly return with strong convictions left upon their minds. All this gives me a fair prospect of getting a larger door of the Word set open in time."

Ziegenbalg gives an account of "a baptismal act performed by the Papists in India," which is worthy of being narrated. "In the year 1709, and particularly towards the latter end thereof, everything was very dear in this country. The scarcity was so great that abundance of Malabarians died for want of necessaries, and others were forced to sell themselves for slaves in that extremity. The Portuguese Church here being very large and populous, took hold of this opportunity and bought up a great many of this poor people for slaves, one being sold from twenty to forty fano, or from eight to sixteen shillings English. After they had

purchased the number of fourscore heads, the Pater Vicarius appointed a solemn day for administering the baptismal act to all those souls at once. At the set day they went in one body or procession, being accompanied by some who beat the Malabar drums, and others who played on the flute, these being the usual instruments the heathen make use of, both at their idolatrous worship in the common pagods, and in their public processions when they carry their idols about. . . . There were likewise some standards attending the procession, to give the greater lustre to so solemn an act and formality.

"The whole pageantry being thus mustered up, the sacrament of baptism was ministered to those ignorant wretches without so much as asking them one question about the substance of these transactions. Being sprinkled one after another, they were led back in the same pompous manner; the aforesaid *father* ordering abundance of cass—a very small coin, eighty whereof make one fano—to be thrown among the people as they went home. And these sorry performances, whereby they make daily additions to the Church of Rome, are extolled by them as extraordinary acts of devotion, and their church set out as the most flourishing of all others."

The daily time table of the schools was as follows:—

From 6 to 7 a.m. one of the missionaries says prayers with the children and the catechumens, and expounds the catechism.

From 7 to 9 are the ordinary school hours. Part of this time is also used in preparing female candidates for baptism. Likewise some boys are put to knitting in cotton.

From 9 to 11 the children continue their schooling. Some catechumens, being boys or men, are instructed. The women and girls are employed about knitting.

From 11 to 12 the children have dinner, with such catechumens as cannot maintain themselves. Those catechumens whose relatives have deprived them of all necessaries receive fifteen cass apiece: the same is allowed them also for supper.

From 12 to 1 the children have a resting hour.

From 1 to 2 they learn to write in the sand, according to the custom of the country; but the more advanced are taught to handle the iron tool, to fit them to print on leaves. The Portuguese children knit during this hour.

From 2 to 3, children at school. The slaves are instructed in Christian knowledge: they are

taught "distinctly by themselves." The catechumens are knitting.

From 3 to 5, children are at school. Some time is again given to the instruction of the slaves.

From 5 to 6 "the Malabarick missionary hath all the Malabarick youth together with the catechumens before him, and goes over with them a part of the Christian religion, and thus concludes the ordinary lessons of the day."

"The same is done by the Portuguese missionary in the Portuguese school, where are now present catechumens, children and slaves."

From 6 to 7 some entertainment is given to the children; the masters retire with them "to the leads of the house," and histories or natural occurrences are related to them, or hymns are sung, &c.

From 7 to 8 supper. After supper, prayers; and about 9 the children lay themselves down on their mats.

The Malabarick and Portuguese missionaries visit the schools every day, themselves teaching one or more hours, as their other business will permit.

"We endeavour to spend the whole Lord's day as nigh as possibly we can in devotion and exercises of piety."

Once in six weeks the children were taken to a garden adjoining a village near Tranquebar: this was meant as a little excursion and refreshment to them. All the missionaries and masters accompanied them, and the conversation was on the subject of the power and working of God in creation and nature. "Many Malabarians gather about us all this while and express a great satisfaction at the pertinent answers our *Black Lambs*—being but lately reclaimed from heathenish vices and superstitions—do return to the questions relating to God and Religion."

In 1715 Ziegenbalg came to Europe by order of the physicians. He was received by the king of Denmark; he then hurried onwards and was welcomed by Francke at Halle, his presence and his glowing appeals kindling anew the zeal of the friends of the mission.

Having married, he set out again with his wife for India, travelling through Holland and England. King George I. received him, and the East India Company gave him a free passage to India. The English king afterwards—in 1717—wrote to Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar a kindly and sympathetic letter.

At Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg laboured with untiring energy for two more years. New Year's

Day, 1719, was the last occasion when he spoke in public. On 23rd February of that year he died—his age was only thirty-six. He was bright and cheerful that morning, and after prayer with his wife, death drew near. "Did he desire to depart, and to be with Christ?" "Ah, how willingly!" "I can scarcely speak," he said: "may God bless what I have spoken. I have daily given myself into Thy hands, O God! The Lord saith, 'Father, I will that where I am there also shall My servant be!'" The peace of God rested upon him. Suddenly he put his hands to his eyes and exclaimed, "How is it so bright as if the sun shone into my face?" Then at his request they sang to him, with the accompaniment of the violin, his favourite hymn, "Jesus, meine Zuversicht"—Jesus, my confidence. The chords seemed to revive him, and his spirit passed away.

In 1849 Dr Alexander Duff visited the spot. "I mounted the pulpit—of Ziegenbalg's Church," says Dr Duff, "and with no ordinary emotion gazed around from the position from which Ziegenbalg and Grundler and Schwartz so often proclaimed free salvation to thousands in Tamil, German, Danish, and Portuguese. At the end of one of the wings, on either side of a plain altar, lie the

mortal remains of Ziegenbalg and Grundler, two such men of brief but brilliant and immortal career in the mighty work of Indian evangelisation."

As the result of those few years' work in India, from 1706 to 1719, Ziegenbalg left 355 converts and numerous catechumens, a native church, the complete New Testament in Tamil, a dictionary, a mission seminary and the schools. "Certainly," says Dr Duff, "he was a great missionary, considering that he was the first: inferior to none, scarcely second to any that followed him."

On the Malabar Coast there are still many congregations of Syrian or St Thomas Christians who have a fond but unverifiable tradition that the Gospel was introduced into India by the Apostle Thomas. More probably the first preacher of the Cross in India was some Christian teacher whose name is forgotten, but who went forth in one of the ancient fleets which sailed from the Red Sea to bring back the riches of the East. From that first introduction of Christianity into India, about the second century, there has evidently never been a time when India has had no living witness for Christ.

When the Portuguese navigators reached India, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, they found that those ancient Syrian or Nestorian Christians

had been established there for more than a thousand years. But the Syrian Christianity was a declining power, and was still further weakened by the Roman Catholic missionaries. It was at this juncture that the Danish mission and Zeigenbalg appeared, and by the grace of God he began that great movement towards Christ which is now every year spreading and deepening.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ.

"A beautiful life, as brilliant and powerful as we find in any of the centuries before him." "Standing out clear from all,—to Christian thought and the history of the Church, perhaps the most conspicuous figure in India of the eighteenth century."

W. FLEMING STEVENSON.

THE honour of having sent the first Protestant mission to India belongs to Denmark; but the majority of the European workers, for the first fifty years at least, were Germans. So also was the famous missionary at whose life we shall now glance. Schwartz, if one of the earliest, was also one of the most successful of Indian missionaries: he worked in India for forty-eight years, having never even once come back to Europe during that time.

Christian Frederick Schwartz was born in Sonnenburg, a small town in the Electorate of Brandenburg, in October 1726. After an elementary education in Sonnenburg he was sent to a more advanced school in the neighbouring town of Custin. Before this he had been "confirmed" according to the rites of the Lutheran Church,

but received little impression. At Custin a lady brought him some books to read: one of these was "Demonstrations of the Footsteps of a Divine Being yet in the World," by A. H. Francke. It was a narrative of the rise and progress of the Orphan House at Glaucha, near Halle. The reading of this book proved the turning point in his life.

In 1746 he proceeded to Halle, where he lodged in the Orphan House while he pursued his studies in the University. His intercourse with Francke did him great good, and strengthened his resolution to devote himself to God.

The project was being spoken of at that time of printing at Halle a new edition of the Bible in Tamil, under the superintendence of the missionary Schultz. This idea was never accomplished, but while the project was still on foot, Schwartz and another student were recommended to acquire what knowledge they could of Tamil, in order to qualify them to help in correcting the printing of the book. While engaged in the study of this language, which occupied him for several months, Francke asked him if he would go to India; and he resolved to do so if he could receive his father's consent. This with some little difficulty was obtained, and in August 1749

Schwartz with other two missionaries left Halle for Copenhagen. In this city they were ordained to the ministry by Bishop Horreboa.

Returning to Halle they made preparations for their final departure; and left Germany for England, *en route* to India. In London they were kindly received by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and by other friends, including the king's chaplain: "whatever could in any way contribute to our comfort and encouragement, that he did." Schwartz was called on to preach in the Royal Chapel; and the Directors of the East India Company granted the three missionaries a free passage to India.

They embarked at Deal in January 1750, and arrived at Cuddalore in the following July. Long afterwards it was observed that for a century after the founding of the Danish mission, and in the course of which some fifty missionaries had proceeded to India, no vessel had been lost in which any of them sailed.

We shall now look at his work among the Hindoos. A wealthy native merchant said to him, "Sir, be not displeased, I wish to ask you a question. Do all Europeans speak like you?" Schwartz replied that all Europeans were not true Christians, but that there were many who were

really so, and who sincerely prayed for the Hindoos that they might become acquainted with Jesus Christ. "You astonish me," said he, "for from what we daily observe and experience we cannot but think Europeans, with but few exceptions, to be self-interested, incontinent, proud, full of illiberal contempt and prejudice against us Hindoos, and even against their own religion, especially the higher classes. So at least I have found it with the majority of those with whom I have had any intercourse."

Meeting a Hindoo dancing master with a female pupil, Schwartz told them that no unholy persons should enter into the kingdom of heaven. "Alas, sir," said the poor girl, "in that case hardly any European will ever enter it."

This incident is of the same tone as some remarks he made years afterwards. "The wretchedness of many young people here is difficult to be described. Of such, how many are in a short time removed into eternity. They arrive in this country, to make, as it is called, their fortunes, and usually go down to the grave under circumstances sorrowful indeed."

His fellow missionaries soon discovered Schwartz's talents, and appointed him to superintend all the Christian schools and churches south

of the river Caveri. This involved much itinerating work which he cheerfully rendered.

Various drawbacks occurred in the conduct of the mission. These arose from political circumstances, such as the success of the French in some of their military enterprises in India. But notwithstanding this feeling of uneasiness the Danish mission celebrated its jubilee on 9th July 1756, the anniversary of the day on which fifty years previously Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutscho, the first Protestant missionaries to India, landed at Tranquebar.

In this year, 1756, three Mohammedans were baptized at Vepery, the first-fruits of Islam to Christ on the coast of Coromandel.

The branches of the mission at Cuddalore and Madras were seriously interfered with by the hostilities between the French and English armies; but Tranquebar, where Schwartz was stationed, belonged to a neutral state, and thus escaped the horrors of war.

In 1760, some of the native Christians of the Dutch mission in Ceylon having requested that the Danish missionaries should visit them, Schwartz set out for that island and visited Jaffnapatnam, Colombo, and other towns. This visitation of the Cingalese churches occupied three months. "The

Word of God being so scarce in that island, I assure you that the Divine service was conducted in a very solemn and edifying manner. Indeed my inmost soul was moved by it."

In 1762 Schwartz determined to extend his labours in India beyond the limits of the Danish territory, and accordingly set out on foot to Tanjore and Trichinopoli, where he preached to both Christians and heathens. From that time his work was chiefly connected with those two cities even more than with Tranquebar.

At Caroor, near Trichinopoli, he found work of all sorts among the Hindoos and Europeans, for whose benefit he held divine service with the soldiers. The country around was rich and beautiful, "well watered even as the garden of the Lord."

These were years of continual war, battles and sieges following in rapid succession; but amid it all the missionaries pursued their way; sometimes in the besieged towns, having their goods seized, and the converts often cruelly used: but through it all the work went on which they were sent to do. At the siege of Madura by the English, Schwartz is reported to have been signally useful to the English army.

In 1766, at the request of the Society for the

Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and with the approval of the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen, Schwartz left Tranquebar and settled at Trichinopoli.

In regard to his personal appearance and character we have this description: "His garb, which was pretty well worn, seemed foreign and old fashioned, but in every other respect his appearance was the very reverse of all that could be termed forbidding or morose. Figure to yourself a stout well-made man, somewhat above the middle size, erect in his carriage and address, with a complexion rather dark though healthy, black curled hair, and a manly engaging countenance expressive of unaffected candour, ingenuousness and benevolence, and you will have an idea of what Mr Schwartz appeared to be at first sight."

The following particulars may be acceptable. His annual income at Trichinopoli was about £48. "Let us see, then, how he managed with this income. He obtained of the commanding officer a room in an old Gentoo building, which was just large enough to hold his bed and himself, and in which few men could stand upright. With this apartment he was contented. A dish of rice and vegetables dressed after the manner of the natives was what he could always sit cheerfully down to;

and a piece of dimity dyed black, and other materials of the same homely sort, sufficed him for an annual supply of clothing. Thus easily provided as to temporalities, his only care was to do the work of an evangelist." He was never married.

The English garrison being without a chaplain, Schwartz regularly preached to them. The government of Madras granted him £100 a year for these services, and this benevolent man spent it in building a mission house and hall and school: and after furnishing these buildings he resolved to retain only half for himself and devote the other half to the use of his congregation.

In 1768, the English being involved in war with Hyder Ali, Schwartz found an addition to his work in attending the sick and wounded from the English camp.

At a visit to Combaconum he talked himself quite weary with various heathen, and one of the catechists read them our Lord's warning against false prophets, whereupon a Brahmin declared aloud, "It is the lust of the eye and of pleasure that prevents us from embracing the truth." On this Schwartz makes the unusual but just remark: "St Paul enumerates idolatry among the works of the flesh. If it were only an error of the *understanding*, the greater number of heathens would already

have forsaken it, but being a work of the flesh, and Christianity requiring its crucifixion, they stop there."

Another Brahmin used the plain words, "The reasons why we do not embrace the Christian doctrines are avarice, pride and voluptuousness."

The Hindoos were accustomed to justify themselves after this fashion:—We cannot be better than the gods: now the gods everywhere practised lying, impurity, injustice and revenge; these cannot, therefore, be sinful. In the temples the most flagrant actions of the gods were described in images and pictures, and as the result the people were sunk in vice and misery. "They that make the idols are like unto them."

"But we faint not," said Schwartz: "we know that Christ is ordained as a light of the Gentiles."

In regard to the hindrances to the conversion of the heathen it was his conviction that the principal cause which prevents most of the Hindoos from embracing Christianity is the fear of man. In regard to the Brahmins in particular he writes: "Nothing but fear keeps them at present from embracing the Christian religion. . . . For my part I entertain a cheerful hope of seeing better days, and therefore rejoice in the present opportunity of preaching the salutary doctrine of Christ,

frequently recalling to my mind that there is a time of sowing preceding that of reaping."

Having visited Tanjore in 1769, he was introduced to the king of that place, the Rajah Tuljajee: and with this prince and his successors Schwartz's history is much interwoven. Meanwhile he worked at Trichinopoli.

"Padre," said the son of the Nabob at Trichinopoli, "we always regarded you Europeans as a most irreligious race of men, unacquainted even with the nature of *prayer*, till *you* came and told us you had good people amongst you in Europe: since you are come here indeed we begin to think better of you."

Seeing the opportunity of influencing the Mohammedans of India by the Persian language, the Gospels in Persian were to some extent circulated among them, and an attempt was made to procure the whole of the New Testament in that language, but such a translation could not be got then. But though Schwartz failed in this, the thing itself has been long ago accomplished. Henry Martyn did this work. The Persian translation of the New Testament is his enduring monument: and it has been widely circulated both in India and in Persia.

What with school work, visitation of the troops,

the regular services of the churches, evangelistic and pastoral tours among the natives, and private conversation, his time was well occupied. "The day being cool," he writes, "I went round the fort, the poor heathen collecting in numbers to hear the Word of God. After conversing with them, a Mohammedan approached and asked me, 'What was the difference between his religion and mine?' To which I replied, 'We both have a heavy burden of sin to carry. You have none to remove it, but we have in Jesus Christ a perfect Deliverer.'"

The blessing of God rested on the work year by year, and the native church continued to increase. Many instances occurred of conversion both among Roman Catholics and the heathen; and the genuineness of the change was shown by the way in which they withstood allurement and persecution. "The increase in the congregation," he writes in 1771, "has been greater than the preceding year, 140 persons in all having been added to it. We have also remarked more of the work of God in the heart of the catechumens, which has encouraged us cheerfully to persevere." His work among the Europeans was equally fruitful, many of the soldiers coming out clearly and fully in the Christian life.

He was always careful not to speak harshly:

"Were we to address the heathen in an angry and cutting manner, it would be just as if we were to throw sand in a man's eyes and then exhort him to see clearly."

Among many interesting conversions was that of a man said to have been more than a hundred years old. Notwithstanding his extreme age he comprehended well what he was taught, and he was baptized.

The Rajah of Tanjore proposed to employ Mr Schwartz as a mediator or ambassador in some political negotiations with the English, but was overruled by his officers. The rajah used these remarkable words to Schwartz, "Padre, I have confidence in you, because you are indifferent to money."

By the combined efforts of the English Government of Madras and the Nabob of Arcot, Tanjore was captured, and the rajah deposed. But these proceedings did not meet with the approval of the authorities in England, by whose orders the rajah was restored to his throne. The rajah's restoration once more opened the way to Schwartz for freely preaching in Tanjore. The war had greatly hindered him.

The languages in which he had hitherto carried on his work were English, German, Tamil and

Persian, but at the request of the rajah he also acquired Marathi. The princes of Tanjore as descended from the Maratta conquerors used this language; and by thus learning it, Schwartz increased his influence in that court.

An additional missionary having been appointed at Trichinopoli, Schwartz was able from 1778 to reside chiefly at Tanjore, though he continued to visit Trichinopoli and to superintend the work in both places.

At the request of the Governor of Madras, Schwartz undertook a piece of political work: some might blame him for it, but he thought it right to comply with the request. It was that he should go to Seringapatam to have a personal interview with Hyder Ali for the purpose of ascertaining his actual disposition with regard to the English, and to assure him of the pacific intentions of the Madras government. It was thought that Schwartz's knowledge of Hindustani, and his incorruptible integrity, qualified him for this mission of peace. And viewing it as an endeavour to avoid war and bloodshed, he also thought it would be wrong to refuse. Accordingly he undertook the journey and arrived at Hyder Ali's court, and had the desired interview or several of them. He gives some curious information about the court

of that prince and the terrible severity with which he governed his subjects. This embassy, well as Schwartz endeavoured to carry it out, proved quite ineffectual to secure the desired end, for Hyder Ali not long afterwards invaded the Carnatic with an army of about a hundred thousand men. This involved a war which lasted three years, during which time the sufferings of the natives were extreme; famine prevailed. Schwartz writes, "We have suffered exceedingly in this fortress from hunger and misery. When passing through the streets early in the morning the dead were lying in heaps." "A vigorous and strong man is scarcely to be met with: in outward appearance men are like wandering skeletons." Apprehending the outbreak of this war, Schwartz had purchased 12,000 bushels of rice at a low price, and this enabled him not only to support his catechists and schoolmasters, but to assist many others: indeed he was able to feed a considerable number for seventeen months. "Such distress I never before witnessed, and God grant I never may again."

During this trying period the work of the mission not only did not fall back, but even made cheering progress, while as regards Schwartz himself his Christian character attracted universal con-

fidence and esteem; and even Hyder Ali, notwithstanding his cruelty and the desolation which he was spreading so widely, yet ordered his officers "to allow the venerable padre to pass unmolested and to show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man and means no harm to my government."

Hyder Ali's career of conquest was cut short by the defeats inflicted on him by Sir Eyre Coote and Warren Hastings, and in 1782 he died at Chittore. The war, however, was continued by Hyder Ali's son Tippoo. After it had proceeded for some time a new attempt was made by the English to secure peace, and once more they applied to Schwartz to accompany the peace commissioners as their interpreter. He agreed to do so, and went so far on the way to meet the Sultan Tippoo, when he was stopped by the Sultan's officers, peace having been otherwise concluded. Colonel Fullarton, the commander of the English troops, writes of him at this time, "The knowledge and the integrity of this irreproachable missionary have retrieved the character of Europeans from imputations of general depravity."

Returning to Tanjore he was a second time requested to join the peace commissioners, but not being well he declined. In the account which

he gives of this declinature he says: "When one considers all, high and low, rich and poor, rulers and those that are ruled, one is struck with grief and a variety of passions. What blindness, insensibility and obstinacy, greediness and rapaciousness! A thousand times I think with myself, 'God, must all those people *die*, must they all give a strict account of their lives, must they all appear before the tribunal of Jesus the mediator and judge? How little do they mind their end and the consequences of their lives!"

He had now been in India considerably more than thirty years, and speaking of the heathen he says, "They are almost entirely devoid of feeling: they hear the doctrines of the gospel explained and even applaud them, and yet go on in their old way as if they had heard nothing about it. Some Brahmins lately said to me, 'We have no objection to hear these things, but heavenly objects do not make much impression upon us.' This avowal is certainly too true; and they are moreover so timid that they would not dare to profess the faith of Christ before their relations. This is truly stoney ground which requires much seed and returns but little fruit."

In consequence of these prolonged wars and misgovernment by the native princes, the people

inhabiting those parts of India were reduced to much destitution. The Rajah of Tanjore not being able to agree with the East India Company in regard to the way in which these distressed people should be governed, a commission was appointed by the English Governor for the purpose of endeavouring to aid the inhabitants and to induce the rajah to agree to certain needed reforms. And on this commission Schwartz was invited to sit as an ordinary member, the other members being some three or four Englishmen of the highest rank. Schwartz agreed to the proposal, and to aid on all occasions that did not involve violent or coercive measures, which, however expedient the English government might esteem them, he nevertheless considered unbecoming his position and character as a Christian minister. On this commission he did work which the government highly valued. So highly were Mr Schwartz's services in this matter esteemed by the government and council of Madras that they resolved to grant him a salary of £100 a year as interpreter to the Company at Tanjore.

In December 1790, a Christian Hindoo named Sattianaden, who for some years had been engaged as a preacher in the service of the mission, was ordained by Schwartz and the other missionaries

according to the rites of the Lutheran Church. "It was a sacred and most delightful day to us all," says Schwartz. Sattianaden had already approved himself as a trustworthy man, humble and disinterested. "His love to Christ and his desire to be useful to his countrymen are quite apparent: his gifts in preaching afford universal satisfaction. His love to the poor is extraordinary, and it is often inconceivable to me how he can subsist on his scanty stipend—3 star pagodas per month, about twenty-four shillings, and yet do so much good." Sattianaden's career justified the hopes which were entertained of him.

In 1791 he writes, "Though I feel age and the infirmities connected with it, I have much cause humbly to praise God that He so graciously strengthens me to pursue my daily labours among both Christians and heathens. . . . I baptise no one whom I have not instructed daily for two and sometimes three months. There are two villages of Christians round our garden, one of Pariah and the other of Soodra caste; and these can conveniently attend our daily worship. That which you for so many years desired, that we might have a village of Christians, God has brought about without our interference."

In 1792, writing to the Society for the Propaga-

tion of Christian Knowledge, he says that, though past the sixty-fifth year of his age, he was in good health and able to discharge his duties, and that 87 converts had been baptized during the previous year.

An interesting view of Schwartz's work is given by one of his fellow missionaries writing in 1791. "His garden is filled from morning till late in the evening with natives of every rank who come to him to have their differences settled. . . . Both morning and evening he has a service at which many of the Christians attend. A short hymn is first sung, after which he gives an exhortation on some passage of Scripture and concludes with a prayer. Till this is over, every one, even the most respectable, is obliged to wait. The number of those who come to him to be instructed in Christianity is great. Every day individuals attend requesting him to establish a Christian congregation in their part of the country."

About the same time Schwartz writes, "As many of the natives daily come to me from all parts of the country, I had the best opportunity of declaring to them the counsel of God for their salvation. Those who came at seven in the morning attended our morning prayers. Others who called at eight heard the instructions given

to candidates for baptism. Sometimes forty or fifty persons are present, both of high and low castes. Frequently from fifteen to twenty Brahmins are sitting by while I am catechizing. I say to them, 'Sit down and you will hear what doctrines I teach. I trust you will dedicate yourself to the service of your Creator and Redeemer and forsake your wretched idolatry.' They quietly sit down for an hour and hear anything I have to say. Thirty years ago they would have looked on this as the greatest scandal. . . . My hope that this country will be brought to a saving knowledge of the gospel daily gains strength; but whether I shall live to see the change, the Lord only knows, nor indeed is it material. My chief care is to train up young people in the service of Christ."

The Rajah of Tanjore's adopted son was named Serfojee, and on the father's death the education of this youth was entrusted by the English government to Mr Schwartz's care: his influence over the young man was excellent. "For two years I have discharged the duties of a Resident. A Resident usually receives 7000 star pagodas, or £3000 sterling. I have not received anything, nor have I asked it. My journey to Madras I undertook at the desire of government, as tutor of

Serfojee. The expenses of the journey *I bore myself.* I was obliged for conscience' sake to undertake it as the legal guardian of the young man. His life was in the utmost danger. He is now at Madras, learns English and reads good books. What effect this may have on his future life is known to Him alone who trieth the heart and reins."

And so this good man continued to work year in, year out, steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, dwelling as a father in the midst of the native Christians, for the church was built in his garden, and they had their houses erected close to it.

Schwartz died at Tanjore on 13th February 1798, surrounded by his fellow labourers, both European and native, and even to the last he ceased not to witness for Christ with great joy.

Bishop Heber, who visited Tanjore and Trichinopoli in after years, while he says that once he had been doubtful as to the wisdom of all the political work in which Schwartz had engaged, yet records that this impression had been a mistake. "Schwartz," writes the bishop, "was one of the most active and fearless, as he was one of the most successful missionaries who have appeared since the apostles. To say that he was disinterested in regard to

money is nothing: he was perfectly regardless of power; and renown never seemed to affect him, even so far as to induce an outward show of humility. His temper was perfectly simple, open and cheerful. . . . His converts were between six and seven thousand, beside those whom his predecessors and companions in the cause had brought over."

The respect in which he was held by the natives of South-eastern India was extraordinary: he enjoyed the confidence of poor and rich, of the peasant and the prince. In the midst of war he walked securely through the enemy's country. Even Hyder Ali, when executing vengeance on the English, remembered that there was *one* European against whom he had no resentment.

Serfojee, the rajah whose cause Schwartz had so successfully espoused, erected in Schwartz's memory a monument executed in England by Flaxman, and had it placed in the church at the fort at Tanjore. And the East India Company also sent out a monument which they erected in the church at Madras. The inscription on it is very long, but it testifies to the universal regard in which the memory of this apostolic man was held,—"his life was one continued effort to imitate the example of his blessed Master." "The East

India Company, anxious to perpetuate the memory of such transcendent worth, and gratefully sensible of the public benefits which resulted from his influence, caused this monument to be erected A.D. 1807."

This short view of the labours of this eminently good man may be concluded with the first sentence from his will, in which he bequeathed all he possessed to the work of the mission—"In the name of God. Into Thine hands I commend my spirit: Thou hast redeemed me, Thou faithful God! Wherein I have sinned—and I have often and greatly sinned against Thee—forgive it graciously for the sake of the reconciliation-sacrifice of Jesus Christ my Lord, and let me find mercy. Grant me, for Christ's sake, a blessed departure out of this sorrowful world, and a blessed entrance into that joyful life. Amen."

HENRY MARTYN.

"For My name's sake thou hast laboured and hast not fainted."

HENRY MARTYN was born at Truro, in Cornwall, on 17th February 1781. His father was John Martyn, who, from a humble position in connection with some of the Cornish mines, had risen until he became a merchant's clerk in Truro. Henry, as well as his other brothers and sisters, was of a weak, physical constitution; all accounts say he was a weak and ailing boy. When he was seven years of age his father placed him at the grammar school of the town, then taught by the Rev. Dr Cardew, who found the boy to be "of a lively, cheerful temper," and of excellent mental abilities.

In 1797 he entered St John's College, Cambridge. Here he worked with great diligence. There is an occasion recorded, when, in a fit of passion as he sat at table, he threw a knife at one of his companions, who in some way had offended him. Fortunately the knife failed to reach its mark: this incident caused him deep

regret and humiliation. A college friend attempted to persuade him that even his reading should be with a view to the glory of God. This advice, he says, "seemed strange to me, but reasonable."

The influence which chiefly affected him for the better was that of one of his sisters. She did not cease to urge upon him the supreme claims of Christ. This she took special occasion to do during a visit home, which he paid during a college vacation. But, as he writes in his journal, he steadily resisted his sister, and paid no regard to his father's counsels. "I left my sister and father in October, and him I saw no more. I promised my sister that I would read the Bible for myself, but on being settled at college, Newton engaged all my thoughts."

Returned to Cambridge, he soon received news of his father's death. He took up the Bible; but how faint was the light in his soul may be seen from what he says: "I took up my Bible, thinking that the consideration of religion was rather suitable to this solemn time. . . . I began with the Acts *as being the most amusing*, and while I was entertained with the narrative I found myself insensibly led to enquire into the doctrine of the apostles. It corresponded nearly enough with the

few notions I had received in my early youth. I believe, on the first night after, I began to pray from a precomposed form, in which I thanked God in general for having sent Christ into the world. But though I prayed for pardon, I had little sense of my own sinfulness; nevertheless I began to consider myself a religious man." Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," which he read at this time, caused him much searching of heart—"it appeared to make religion to consist too much in humiliation, and my proud wicked heart would not bear to be brought down into the dust."

This was the turning point in his life, as he writes to his sister: "After the death of our father, you know I was extremely low-spirited, and, like most other people, began to consider seriously, without any particular determination, the invisible world to which he was gone and to which I must one day go. Yet I still read the Bible unenlightened, and said a prayer or two, rather through terror of a superior power than from any other cause. Soon, however, I began to attend more diligently to the words of our Saviour in the New Testament, and to devour them with delight; when the offers of mercy and forgiveness were made so freely, I supplicated

to be made partaker of the covenant of grace with eagerness and hope, and thanks be to the ever blessed Trinity for not leaving me without comfort."

Another helpful influence was that he attended the ministry of Rev. Charles Simeon at Trinity Church, Cambridge. Simeon greatly helped to promote evangelical religion and to foster the cause of foreign missions, then in its infancy in England. Five Cambridge men, all of them disciples of Simeon, had an important share in making the gospel known in India. These were, in the order of their arrival abroad, Brown, Buchanan, Martyn, Corrie, and Thomason. Thomason was Simeon's curate from 1796 till 1808, when he sailed for India, and Martyn from 1803 to 1805, when he left for the same destination. But this is anticipating the course of events.

Martyn's pre-eminence as a student is seen in the fact that in the public examination for his university degree in January 1801, before he had completed his twentieth year, the highest academical honour was adjudged to him, that of Senior Wrangler. His college friends would crowd round him with congratulations, but his own thoughts were these: "I obtained my

highest wishes, but was surprised to find that I had grasped a shadow." As the result of another examination he was chosen Fellow of St John's College in 1802, and soon thereafter took the first prize given to graduates for the best Latin prose composition. In 1803 he was appointed by his college public examiner in classics, and in 1804 examiner in philosophy. At the close of the same year he was a third time selected one of the examiners in St John's College.

During a visit home in 1801 his spiritual life gained a decided impetus: "not till then," he writes, "had I experienced any real pleasure in religion." Under the fostering care of Mr Simeon, his spiritual life continued to grow: and now he abandoned his intention of being a lawyer and consecrated himself to the ministry of the gospel.

Jonathan Edwards' Memoir of David Brainerd largely helped to lead Henry Martyn to offer himself for foreign service. Brainerd's Memoir quite attracted him. He felt a oneness of soul with the young American who, almost at his own age, left home and the comforts of civilisation, to enter alone, for Jesus Christ's sake, the dark forest of Indian superstition and sin, and who,

like Martyn, finished his course with joy at so early an age. Brainerd and Martyn were both intensely introspective: both were fired with love to Jesus Christ and a yearning love for souls. "Fatigues and hardships," writes Brainerd, "serve to wean me from the earth, and, I trust, will make heaven the sweeter." Martyn found in him a kindred spirit. And he too laid his life at the feet of Jesus, that Jesus might use that life in any way He saw fit. The immediate cause of this decision, however, was a sermon preached by Mr Simeon on foreign missions, in which attention had been drawn to the good effected in India by William Carey.

He now offered himself to the Church Missionary Society, one of the noblest of all societies at work among the heathen. It was formed in the year 1800, and the name of Charles Simeon is among the founders. Events, however, proved that it was not under the Society's auspices that Martyn was to go to India.

In October 1803 he was ordained deacon, and in due time began his ministry as curate to the Rev. Charles Simeon, with whom he laboured in Cambridge and the adjoining village of Lolworth.

In 1804 a chaplaincy in India was offered him

by the East India Company, and he accepted it. In March 1805 he was ordained a presbyter in St James' Chapel, London, and after the ordination the University of Cambridge conferred on him the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

"I see no business in life but the work of Christ, neither do I desire any employment to all eternity but His service." In this frame of mind did he look forward to leaving England for India.

A voyage to India in those days was something to be remembered; not as now in first class steamers, luxuriously fitted up like floating hotels, so that an Indian voyage becomes a delightful holiday. Very different was the state of things then. The ship in which he sailed was one of a fleet consisting of fifty transports and five men-of-war, besides the Indiamen; for England was then at war with Holland and France. Added to all the discomforts of the voyage was the extreme length of it: from the time he sailed till the ship arrived in India was nine months! The disrespect shown to him by almost all on board was a severe discipline. On Sundays the captain would not allow him to preach oftener than once. Seeing, therefore, that his usefulness greatly depended on his private ministrations, he

made it his daily habit to go between decks, where he assembled all who were willing to attend. "Some attend fixedly," he writes, "others are looking another way; some women are employed about their children, attending for a little while, and then heedless; some rising up and going away; others taking their place; and numbers, especially of those who have been upon watch, strewed all along upon the deck, fast asleep; one or two from the upper decks looking down and listening." And on Sundays things were no more encouraging: the passengers were inattentive; the officers, many of them, sat drinking, so that he could overhear their noise, and the captain was with them. "I seemed uneasy at the thought of calling forth the hatred of the people to-morrow by preaching to them unpleasant truths." But even in so unpromising a field the good seed took root and grew. "Here I am," he writes, "and have enough to break the heart of any one who has a concern for the honour of God. God has, however, had compassion on His unworthy servant and the perishing souls in the ship, as to gather some of His children from amongst us. There is a small party of us who gather every day on the orlop deck to sing and hear an exposition of scripture. The rest are very

hardened and contemptuous, but I trust I shall have grace to instruct in meekness those who oppose themselves."

It was an eventful voyage, its chief incidents being an attempt at mutiny by the crew; four days spent at Funchal; a short stay at San Salvador in Brazil, where Martyn landed and engaged in conversation in Latin with some Roman Catholic priests, seeking to lead them to Christ; and the arrival of the fleet at the Cape of Good Hope. The meaning of this putting in at the Cape was that South Africa then belonged to Holland, and the fleet was conveying British troops to fight the Dutch. Martyn, in his capacity of chaplain, was on the field of battle in which the Dutch were defeated. There he moved among the wounded and the dying, speaking to them of the gospel and pointing them to Christ for salvation. As he was thus engaged, a drunken Highland soldier, taking him for a Frenchman, presented his gun at him. Martyn sprang toward him, and told him if he doubted his word, to take him prisoner to the English camp, but that he certainly was an English clergyman. This pacified the soldier, and Martyn's life was saved. Resuming the voyage, India was reached at last. The sickness in

the ship had been great. Shortly before reaching the Cape the captain had died, and now there was more ill health than ever. Throughout it all Martyn was ever at the bedside of the sick and dying, administering every temporal and spiritual comfort.

In April 1806 the ship anchored in Madras roads, and next month arrived at Calcutta. "Oh, if I live," he writes, "let me have come hither to some purpose."

His first impressions of India were certainly rose-coloured. "You address me," he writes, "as if there were hardships in any way: externally there are none, except temptations may be called so, as perhaps they ought to be. The air is so soft and serene that you might sleep at night under a tree; and maintenance so easy that a wholesome meal may be purchased for a farthing or two."

Mission work in India at that time was carried on under difficulties. Those in power showed much hostility to the preaching of the gospel to the natives, except, strangely enough, in South India, where the Danish mission was protected and encouraged by the East India Company. If we would understand the devotion of men like William Carey and Henry Martyn let us realise

what were the prospects of missionary success at the beginning of this century under the East India Company. The British flag was the emblem of the determination that the gospel should not reach the Hindoos. Some of the early missionaries, Judson for instance, as soon as they landed in British India, were ordered by the authorities to leave immediately, and were forcibly compelled to do so. This was the cause of Judson's settling in Burmah. Carey, Marshman and Ward were not allowed to reside in British India, but were forced to live at the Danish settlement of Serampore. Martyn's position as a chaplain had certain advantages, for he was appointed by the East India Company to preach to the English residents; but it had its disadvantages too, for he was under military rule, and must obey as much as any private in the ranks.

Arrived in Calcutta he was hospitably received by the Rev. David Brown. Here he worked incessantly, acquiring the Hindustani language. It would be impossible for the East India Company to keep *this* chaplain within regulation rules in regard to not preaching to the natives. "I lay in tears," he says, "interceding for the unfortunate natives of this country, thinking within myself that the most despicable soodar of India was of as

much value in the sight of God as the king of Great Britain." The idolatrous rites of heathenism, which he now witnessed, filled him with horror; and when he saw the natives prostrate before an idol, he was moved with compassion. As he wrote in another connection, "Let me never fancy I have zeal till my heart overflows with love to every man living."

"I have just been interrupted by the blaze of a funeral pile within a hundred yards of my pagoda. I ran out, but the wretched woman had consigned herself to the flames before I reached the spot, and I saw only the remains of her and her husband. O Lord, how long shall it be? Oh, I shall have no rest in my spirit till my tongue is loosed to testify against the devil, and deliver the message of God to these his unhappy bondslaves. I stammered out something to the wicked Brahmins about the judgments of God upon them for the murder they had just committed, but they said it was an act of her own free will. Some of the missionaries would have been there, but they are forbidden by the Governor-general to preach to the natives in the British territory."

His ministerial brethren did not relish the new preaching: the doctrine of justification by faith they could not endure. Accordingly Martyn had

to undergo much personal abuse even from the pulpit. "The two ministers continue to oppose my doctrine with unabated virulence." "These clergy," he writes, "denied in the pulpit, one by one, all the leading doctrines of the gospel, as well as abused the newly arrived missionary." Martyn was wise enough, when he preached, not to make the slightest allusion to these philippics.

This is a sufficient glimpse of the hostility then at work everywhere against the gospel as well as against all who loved it. Spiritual and practical religion was the one thing that was not tolerated.

An appointment soon came ordering Martyn to proceed to Dinapore, a military station up the Ganges. Travelling up river was accomplished in boats called budgerows. Embarked in one of these, he used the time in the study of Sanskrit, and afterwards of Persian, and also in beginning the translation of the Scriptures with the native moonshee whom he had engaged to help him in this work. As the boat passed Serampore, Mr Marshman, one of the Baptist missionaries, came down to meet him, and after accompanying him a little way, left him with prayer.

Going on shore from time to time during this river journey, he found himself on one occasion in

the midst of a crowd of Hindoos engaged in the worship of idols. With one of the Brahmins he had earnest conversation both on the subject of idolatry and of the gospel. He asked the Brahmin if the story were true which relates how the Hindoo divinities Krishnoo and Brahma had once stolen a horse: the Brahmin confessed that it was true, and seemed to feel the consequences. His comment on this incident is, "I learned that the power of gentlenesss is irresistible."

At Berhampore, the first military station, he landed and visited the sick in the hospital. His journal shows the reception he so often met with. "Rose early, and was at the hospital by daylight, but after waiting a long time, wandering through the wards, hoping the men would get up and assemble, I went away amid the sneers and titters of the common soldiers. It is extraordinary that I seldom or never meet with contempt on account of religion except from Englishmen, and from them invariably."

Resuming the river journey he worked at Bible translation, even wearying the moonshee with the labour. He distributed tracts in the villages near the river, though in this he received little encouragement from the recipients. However, the people seemed not to have the same objection to receive

copies of the New Testament from him. The burden of those souls lay heavy on him. "I was much burdened," he writes, "with the consciousness of blood-guiltiness, and though I cannot doubt of my pardon by the blood of Christ, how dreadful the reflection that any should perish who might have been saved by my exertions." As he sailed past Patna the sight of the multitudes in that city overwhelmed him, adding to the bodily weakness and pain he suffered. The intensity of his soul was consuming the earthly tenement in which it lived. "The sight of the multitudes at Patna filled me with astonishment and dread from which I have not yet recovered: and the crowds in the bazaar here (Dinapore) have had no tendency to diminish it. What shall be done for them all?"

At length he arrived at Dinapore. Here, in addition to his work among the Europeans, his objects were threefold, to establish native schools; to attain such fluency in Hindustani as might enable him easily to preach to the natives; and to prepare translations of the Scriptures. His work among the Europeans was not begun under encouraging auspices. At first, when he assembled the soldiers for worship, he was desired to omit the sermon. Many of the European families took offence at his preaching without a *written* sermon,

and a letter was sent him requesting him to cease from extempore preaching. Though inclined to resent this interference, yet to conciliate them he complied with their wishes.

Speaking of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the moonshee with whom he daily worked at bible translation, Martyn told him that he should pray that God would teach him what the truth really is. The man said he had no need to pray on the subject as the Koran was express. Martyn asked him whether some doubt ought not to arise in his mind as to whether the Koran is the Word of God. The moonshee grew angry. Martyn felt hurt and vexed. "If any qualification," he writes, "seems necessary to a missionary in India, it is wisdom operating in the regulation of the temper, and improvement of opportunities."

In his work as chaplain he was grieved by the neglect, levity and profaneness of many of the English. "There seems no approach to seriousness in any here, except perhaps one soldier. They slumber away their time in idleness, and they have lately set on foot something worse, viz., theatricals." In vain he tried to speak of religion in the houses of the wealthy. "The manner in which it was received damped all further effort."

Still he laboured on, sometimes making long journeys in his pastoral work: one journey of seventy miles is mentioned, to perform a marriage.

In February 1807 he completed the translation into Hindustani of the Book of Common Prayer, and a few Sundays thereafter commenced worship in the vernacular. "The spectacle was as novel as it was gratifying, to behold two hundred women, Portuguese, Roman Catholics and Mohammedans, crowding to attend the service of the Church of England, which had lost nothing, doubtless, of its beautiful simplicity and devout solemnity in being clothed with an Oriental dress." Soon thereafter he finished a commentary in Hindustani on the Parables. His moonshee's private thoughts on this work may be seen from his remark that, after that generation had passed away, a race of fools might perhaps arise who would try to believe that God could be a man, and man God, and who would say that the Bible is the Word of God. The attitude of the moonshee only made him resolve that he would be surprised by no appearances of the same temper in others.

His Sabbath duties now consisted of a service for Europeans at seven a.m. ; another at two in the afternoon for Hindoos ; then he attended the hospital ; and in the evening he ministered in his

own rooms to those soldiers who were interested in divine things. Regarding one of his English services he writes, "I preached on Luke xxii. 22. As is always the case when I preach about Christ, a spiritual influence is diffused over my soul." This patient unremitting labour for Christ, apparently so barren of result, was yet not allowed to be without fruit. Both among the privates and the officers some hearts were touched by God's grace, and with these he enjoyed true fellowship.

Among the Hindoos he began work in addition to the service for them each Sabbath, but found their ignorance of divine things a serious hindrance. For example, he sent his pundit with a copy of the gospels as a gift to the Ranee of Daoudnagur. The princess accepted the present, returned her compliments, and desired to know what must be done to obtain benefit from the book, whether prayer or making a salaam to it. "I sent her word," he writes, "that she must seek Divine instruction in secret prayer, and I also added some other advice."

Miss Lydia Grenfell having declined to leave England for the purpose of joining him, he writes, "At first, like Jonah, I was more grieved at the loss of my gourd than at the sight of

the many perishing Ninevehs all around me; but now my earthly woes and earthly attachments seem to be absorbing in the vast concern of communicating the gospel to these natives. . . . So remarkably and so repeatedly has God baffled all my schemes of earthly comfort, that I am forced at last to believe His determination to be that I should live in every sense a stranger and pilgrim on this earth."

With his moonshee and his pundit he had much conversation, but made little headway. The former threw much ridicule on the gospel; the latter seemed more impressible. "I find that seriousness in the declaration of the truths of the gospel is likely to have more power than the clearest arguments conveyed in a trifling spirit." Speaking to the moonshee of his own personal experience, Martyn assured him that his chief pleasure even now on earth was the enjoyment of God's presence and a growing conformity to Him, and therefore he says, "I asked what motives could the promise of houris, ghilmans, green meadows and eating and drinking in paradise afford me. My soul sweetly blessed the Lord in secret that this testimony was true."

His work in Dinapore continued. Five schools

for children he supported out of his own purse. The gospel he still preached amid the persistent scorn of the Europeans; the praise of man was a temptation which did not fall to him. Like Paul he was willing to impart to them, not the gospel only, but his own soul also, because they were dear to him; but their response was opprobrium and contempt. At his services sometimes not a single European was present, and he was thankful when he could explain the Word of God in Hindustani to a few of the native women. These difficulties are referred to in a letter, dated July 1808, to the Rev. D. Corrie: "How small and unimportant are the hair-splitting disputes among the blessed people at home compared with the formidable agents of the devil with whom we have to contend here. There are four castes of people in India—the first, heathen; the second, Mohammedans; the third, Papists; the fourth, infidels. Now I trust that you and I are sent to fight this four-faced devil; and by the help of the Lord Jesus, whom we serve, we will."

Being asked to accept the pastorate of the Mission Church in Calcutta, he declined, feeling that if he gave himself to the ministry in that city he must abandon his work among the

natives; but this he could not do. "When I see a very small party of people who choose to sit still, with their faces upon the right way, and a flood of light poured upon it, and not far from these, millions equally valuable groping for the right way in midnight darkness, I cannot help running with a lantern to the latter."

Two fresh assistants now arrived to aid him in bible translation—Mirza of Benares, a gifted Hindustani scholar, and Sabat an Arabian. Sabat came with this recommendation—"He will delight your heart, for he is a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian." Mirza was very helpful, but Sabat proved a thorn in the flesh, owing to his fierce temper, which would often break out into ungovernable fits of fury. Instead of being a comfort, Sabat became only an additional trial. Yet Martyn bore with this fiery Arab for two reasons; because he felt Sabat of use to him in the translation of the New Testament into Persian, and also for the man's own sake. "Sabat," he writes, "has been tolerably quiet this week: but think of the keeper of a lunatic and you see me." "We wait for nothing but Sabat to examine the translation; but that, alas, is the greatest plague

to come. How shall we ever get through it? I do not expect, indeed, that we shall get further than a few chapters, for if everything is not altered according to his *ipse dixit* he is angry; and this I certainly cannot do." "Another of his odd opinions is that he is so under the immediate influence and direction of the Spirit that there will not be one single error in his whole Persian translation. You perceive a little enthusiasm in the character of our brother. As often as he finds himself in any difficulty, he expects a dream to set him right." "Sabat has kept me much upon the fret this week. . . . I grieve to say that he is deaf to all I urge respecting the necessity of loving our enemies. His love to Christ, he says, will ensure him salvation, though he does disobey that one command. Hence he continues to hate Mirza with a perfect hatred, inveighing against him with dreadful bitterness, and declaring that if he were not a Christian he would destroy him instantly. What to do with him I am at a loss to know."

Most unhappily Sabat ultimately apostatized.

In March 1808 Martyn joyfully completed the version of the New Testament in Hindustani, "a work for which," says his biographer

Sargent, "myriads in the ages yet to come will gratefully remember and revere the name of Martyn."

"I have read and corrected the manuscript copies of my Hindustani Testament so often that my eyes ache. The heat is terrible, often at 98°, the nights insupportable." This version in a revised form is still doing God's work in India.

In April 1809 he was ordered from Dinapore to Cawnpore. Owing to the terrific heat he fainted as soon as he reached the house of the friend, Mrs Sherwood, where he was to reside for a few days. In Cawnpore he received the same treatment as in Dinapore, and was set at naught. The natives to whom he preached met him with derision, shouts and hisses, but he ceased not to beseech them to be reconciled to God.

One feature of his residence in Cawnpore was his preaching to the beggars. To prevent constant interruptions he had arranged that they should come to his house on a stated day for the distribution of alms. To this strange congregation he determined to preach the gospel. The following Sunday he again preached to the beggars, who numbered about five hundred. This audience received him in a different style from that to which

he was accustomed: instead of indifference or scorn, there was great applause. He continued to preach to the beggars as long as he resided in Cawnpore; their numbers sometimes were as high as seven hundred.

Ill health now caused him much pain, but he felt that he could not forego any part of his work, neither that of preaching to the soldiers, nor to the beggars, nor to the few Europeans. One native woman, an old Hindoo, was baptized by him in Cawnpore. So poor did his health become that it was necessary either that he should try a sea voyage, or return for a time to England. The precise time of his departure from Cawnpore, as well as his route, was decided by considerations affecting his Persian and Arabic translations.

The Persian gospels he had submitted to the judgment of the authorities in Calcutta, and their decision was that the translation abounded too much in Arabic idioms, and it was sent back to him for revision. He therefore resolved to go to Persia in order to make the necessary revision on the spot.

He applied for sick leave, which was granted. Then he sailed in July 1811 from Calcutta to Bombay. In Bombay Sir John Malcolm gave

him a letter of introduction to Sir Gore Ouseley, the British Resident in Persia. Sir John introduces him as "altogether a very learned and cheerful man, but a great enthusiast in his holy calling. I am satisfied that if you ever see him you will be pleased with him. He will give you grace before and after dinner, and admonish such of your party as take the Lord's name in vain; but his good sense and great learning will delight you, while his constant cheerfulness will add to the hilarity of your party."

There may be mentioned at this point several things which show that Henry Martyn was no recluse. He speaks of sometimes purveying his dinner by shooting snipe. He could ride a horse; and play on the flute; and his hopefulness was great. There are no dark views of the world in these words, "Swiftly fly the hours of life away, and then we shall be admitted to behold His glory. The ages of darkness are rolling fast away and shall soon usher in the gospel period when the whole world shall be filled with His glory." "The cause in which we are engaged is the cause of mercy and truth, and therefore in spite of seeming impossibilities it must eventually prevail."

He tells us that he was sometimes led into in-

temperate heat in argument, and was often liable to be forgetful of his proper work as a minister of Christ: "I visit the English very little, and yet have had sufficient experience of the difficulty of knowing how a minister should converse with his people. I have myself fallen into the worst extreme, and from fear of making them connect religion with gloom, have been led into such shameful levity and conformity to them, as ought to fill me with grief and deep self-abasement."

The voyage from Calcutta to Persia occupied five months. He landed at Bushire, and thence travelled to Shiraz. Once upon Persian soil he adopted the Persian costume. "The Persian dress," he writes, "consists of stockings and shoes in one; next a pair of large blue trousers, or else a pair of huge red boots; then the shirt, then the tunic, and above it the coat, both of chintz, and a greatcoat. I have here described my own dress, most of which I have on at this moment. On the head is worn an enormous cone made of the skin of the black Tartar sheep, with the wool on. If to this description of my dress I add that my beard and mustachios have been suffered to vegetate undisturbed ever since I left India; that I am sitting on a Persian carpet in a room without tables and chairs; that I bury my hand in the pilaw

without waiting for spoon or plate, you will give me credit for being already an accomplished Oriental."

On the journey from Bushire to Shiraz the heat was extreme, the thermometer rising to 126°. "In this state," he writes, "I composed myself, and concluded that, though I might hold out a day or two, death was inevitable." It left him more dead than alive. At length Shiraz was reached, and here he immediately began a new version of the New Testament in Persian. In this work he had an able and willing assistant in the person of Mirza Seid Ali Khan, the brother-in-law of his host Jaffier Ali Khan.

Very soon he was the centre of observation in the city: he had many callers, and with them he entered into conversation on the subject of the gospel. He found the Persians more unprejudiced and more inquisitive than the Hindoos, and this gave him hope that the gospel would soon win its way among them. But what could have brought him to Persia? was the question discussed by many. Some thought he had come to Shiraz in order to become a Mussulman, with the ulterior design of bringing five thousand men to seize the country by force!

Two Moollahs having listened to what he had

to say regarding the person of Christ, seemed quite satisfied, and remarked, "How much misapprehension is removed when people come to an explanation." While his amanuensis was writing the translation of that passage in the gospel where it is related how one of the servants of the high priest struck the Lord Jesus on the face, the irreverence and insult impressed him greatly: he stopped and said, "Sir, did not his hand dry up?"

Anxious to pay respect to the powers that be, he was presented at court to the Prince Abbas Mirza. "I went wearing a pair of red cloth stockings, with green high-heeled shoes." A hundred fountains playing; the dignitaries, some standing, others seated. "I never saw," he writes, "a more sweet and engaging countenance than the prince's."

His first public discussion was with the Moojtuhid or Professor of Mohammedan law: but fair discussion did not come easily to the professor: he preferred to dogmatise. These discussions, and the fact of his being engaged on a translation of the New Testament, excited so much enquiry that the Preceptor of all the Moolahs published against Mr Martyn an Arabic defence of Mohammedanism. Mr Martyn published a

reply in Persian, dividing his reply into two parts: first, an attack on Mohammedanism; second, a statement of Christianity. He ends his reply in the words, "If you do not see the evidence to be sufficient, my prayer is that God may guide you so that you who have been a guide to men in the way you thought right, may now both see the truth and call men to God through Jesus Christ, who hath loved us and washed us from our sins in His blood. His glory and dominion be everlasting!" The nephew of one of the princes hearing of Mr Martyn's published reply, observed that the proper answer to it was—the sword; but the prince confessed that he began to have his doubts.

Toward the end of November such progress had been made with the Persian version that Mr Martyn ordered two splendid copies of it to be prepared, one to be presented to the King of Persia, the other to his son, Prince Abbas Mirza. Intending to spend the winter in Shiraz he resolved to translate the psalms into Persian. Speaking of his assistants he says, "They are employed in a work of the importance of which they are unconscious, and are making provision for future Persian saints whose time is, I suppose, now near. 'Roll back, ye crowded years,

your thick array!' Let the long, long period of darkness and sin at last give way to the brighter hours of light and liberty which wait on the wings of the Sun of righteousness. Perhaps we witness the dawn of the day of glory; and if not, the desire that we feel that Jesus may be glorified and the nations acknowledge His sway, is the earnest of the Spirit, that when He shall appear we shall also appear with Him in glory."

On Christmas day he made a feast for the Russians and Armenians: the Soofie Master and his disciples were also present. Addressing the guests, Mr Martyn expressed his hope that though they would never see him again they would remember that he had brought them the gospel. The Soofie Master coldly replied that God would guide those whom He chose.

At length the year 1812 dawned, the year when Henry Martyn rested from his labours and found himself in a world where all is love. On New Year's day he wrote, "I look back with shame and pity upon my former self, when I attached importance to my life and labours. The more I see of my works the more I am ashamed of them. I am sick when I look at man and his wisdom and his doings, and am relieved only by re-

flecting that we have a city whose builder and maker is God. The least of *His* works *here* is refreshing to look at. A dried leaf or a straw makes me feel myself in good company."

On January 16th there is a touching entry: "Mirza Seid Ali told me accidentally to-day of a distich made by his friend Mirza Koochut at Teheran in honour of a victory obtained by Prince Abbas Mirza over the Russians. The sentiment was that he had killed so many of the Christians that Christ from the fourth heaven took hold of Mohammed's skirt to entreat him to desist. I was cut to the soul at this blasphemy. . . . Mirza Seid Ali perceived that I was considerably disordered, and was sorry for having repeated the verse, but asked what it was that was so offensive. I told him that I could not endure existence if Jesus was not glorified. He was astonished and again asked why. 'If any one pluck out your eyes,' I replied, 'there is no saying why you feel pain—it is feeling. It is because I am one with Christ that I am dreadfully wounded.' On his again apologising, I told him I rejoiced at what had happened, inasmuch as it made me feel nearer the Lord than ever."

He must have rejoiced when, after months of

enquiry and sometimes of opposition, Mirza Seid Ali confessed himself a Christian; that he granted that Christ is the Son of God; that he was willing to trust in Him alone for salvation; and that he was also willing to confess Christ before men and act conformably to His word.

On February 14th the last sheet of the Persian New Testament was finished, and in March he completed the translation of the Psalms.

On the day before he finished the New Testament he visited Mirza Ibraheem, who was engaged lecturing in a room filled with Moolahs. The Master asked him what he meant by calling Christ God, and also if Christ had ever called Himself God. Was He the Creator or a creature? "I replied, the Creator. The Moolahs looked at one another. Such a confession had never before been heard among Mohammedan doctors."

On May 24th he left Shiraz for Tabriz, where the British Ambassador, Sir Gore Ouseley, then resided. The purpose of this journey was to obtain from him a letter of introduction to the king, before whom he wished to lay his translation. Arrived at the king's camp at Carach, he attended the vizier's levee, where there was a lengthened and clamorous controversy. It ended

when Mr Martyn said, "God is God," but added instead of "Mohammed is the prophet of God," "and Jesus is the Son of God." The disputants rose up in anger, and one of them exclaimed: "What will you say when your tongue is burned out for this blasphemy?" The Persian translation of the New Testament was lying before the vizier. "As they all rose up," writes Martyn, "I was afraid they would trample upon the book, so I went in among them to take it up, and wrapped it in a towel before them, while they looked at it and me with supreme contempt."

Resuming his journey to Tabriz, he was seldom free from headache and giddiness and fever; "but my heart, I trust, is with Christ and His saints." He was thrown into a high fever and nearly delirious, and almost despaired of getting alive through what he calls "this unfortunate journey." At last he reached Tabriz. But owing to the fever, which lasted nearly two months, he was prevented from personally presenting the New Testament to the King of Persia. Sir Gore Ouseley, however, promised that he would present it at court. His promise he fulfilled, and the king, on receiving it, publicly expressed his approval

of the work. Sir Gore Ouseley also carried the manuscript to St Petersburg, where he superintended the printing of it, and afterwards the putting of it into circulation. The ambassador and his wife tenderly nursed Mr Martyn during the whole of this illness.

After recovering he set out from Tabriz with the intention of returning to England. He turned his horse's head towards Constantinople—distant about 1300 miles—a city he was destined not to reach. He and his attendants journeyed on from village to village, crossing the river Araxes, and having Mount Ararat in view; a hoary mountain, he describes it, rising so high above the rest that they sank into nothing. His remarks on seeing Mount Ararat were that Noah had here "landed in a new world; so may I, safe in Christ, outride the storms of life, and land at last on one of the everlasting hills."

At Erivan he was kindly received by the Governor. At Ech Miazin, or Three Churches, he visited a large Armenian church and encouraged one of the ecclesiastics, named Serope, in whom he thought he saw promise of some reforming useful Christian work. With the clergy of this church he stayed a few days, and left them with sentiments of brotherly regard.

His party crossed the Araxes four times. Ascending the tableland they had a view of Russian territory: at once they saw Persia, Russia and Turkey. On 21st September he rode into the city of Kars. Next day they passed close to the country of the Kurds; then onwards to Erzeroum. Travelling on, they came to Chiflick, where he was attacked again by ague and fever. Next day they came to Sherean, and thence travelled all the rest of the day and all night: it rained most of the time: the ague returned and he could get nowhere to lie down, for, he writes, "Hassan had no mercy." After sleeping three or four hours, Hassan once more hurried him onward till night came on, when Mr Martyn got off his horse, telling Hassan he neither could nor would go any further. Seeing a light he made toward it and got under shelter —a stable-room. Here the fever increased: he besought them to put out the fire or to carry him out of doors, but they were deaf to his entreaties, so he put his head in among the luggage and lodged it upon the damp ground, and slept. In the morning the merciless Hassan hurried him off. Next night the ague and fever returned and he could not sleep.

The last entry in his journal is October 6th.

"No horses being obtainable I had an unexpected repose. I sat in the orchard and thought with sweet comfort and peace of my God, in solitude my company, my friend and comforter. Oh when shall time give place to eternity? when shall appear that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness? There—there shall in no wise enter in anything that defileth, none of that wickedness that has made men worse than wild beasts; none of those corruptions that add still more to the miseries of mortality shall be seen or heard of any more."

On October 16th at Tocat he died, "either falling a sacrifice to the plague which then raged there, or sinking under that disorder which, when he penned his last words, had so greatly reduced him, he surrendered his soul into the hands of his Redeemer." He had not completed his thirty-second year.

A man of the highest talents, his mathematical and linguistic attainments leaving him almost without a rival, he laid himself a willing sacrifice on the Lord's altar. In a letter written in 1809 he mentions that he was acquainted more or less with these languages—Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Hebrew, Rabbinical Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Samaritan,

Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, and Hindustani. Of Arabic he says, "I approve most fully of your new orders for commencing the Arabic. A year ago I was not adequate to it: my labours in the Persian and other studies have in the wisdom of God been the means of qualifying me. So now, *favente Deo*, we will begin to preach to Arabia, Syria, Persia, India, Tartary, China, half of Africa, all the south coast of the Mediterranean, and Turkey, and one tongue shall suffice for them all."

"All the dignity to which he aspired was to be their servant among whom he laboured for Jesus' sake." Even before he left England, so thoroughly was his conversation in heaven, that, to use his own words, "his soul longed for the eternal world, and he could see nothing on earth for which he would wish to live another hour." "I wish for no service but the service of God in labouring for souls on earth and to do His will in heaven." "I do not wish for any heaven upon earth besides that of preaching the precious gospel of Jesus Christ to immortal souls." Even when labouring at the great work of translating the Bible into the languages of India, he writes, "O my soul, be not deceived: thy chief work

upon earth is to obtain sanctification and to walk with God."

The Greek text upon the title page of Martyn's memoir is an epitome of his life and work, "For My sake thou hast laboured and thou hast not fainted" (Rev. iii. 2).

WILLIAM CAREY.

"Expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God."

WILLIAM CAREY was born on 17th August 1761, in the village of Pury, or Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire. His father was a weaver, and was also parish clerk and schoolmaster. The education then given in village schools was of a very limited character, but what advantages there were, he made the most of. He was noted even as a boy for perseverance. Having been severely hurt by a fall from a tree, when once he was allowed out of doors, the first thing he did was to climb that very tree. This determination of purpose stood him in good stead in after life. The bent of his mind lay towards natural history, and he had collected quite a little store of insects which he kept in his own room. Unfitted, through illness, for out-door occupation, he was, at the age of fourteen, apprenticed to a shoemaker at Hackleton. Here his thirst for information led him to acquire some knowledge of Greek.

The Rev. Thomas Scott, the well-known commentator, who was then curate of Olney, used to visit the house of Carey's master, and it was largely to the influence and ministry of Mr Scott that Carey's conversion was due. During his after life he never forgot the debt of gratitude which he owed to his kind minister.

When only nineteen years of age he made his first appearance in the pulpit, and was applauded for his efforts, greatly to his own injury. This his earliest sermon afterwards caused him much humiliation. Some time afterwards he preached at the village of Earl's Barton, and there, as well as at his own village, he preached for three years and a half. At this time his views on baptism underwent a change, and he was baptized by immersion in the river Nen at Northampton by Dr John Rylands, his future associate in the cause of missions. How unable any one then was to read Carey's future career is evident from the entry which Dr Rylands made of the event:—"This day baptised a poor journeymen shoemaker."

He now joined the congregation of Rev. John Sutcliffe at Olney, and when it was proposed that he should receive a call to the ministry, it was chiefly through Mr Sutcliffe's influence that this was agreed to, as the members doubted

whether he possessed sufficient ability to make a useful minister. His own description of the sermon which he preached on this occasion is that it was as "crude and weak as anything could be which is called or has been called a sermon."

His studies were now enlarged, and he made it his daily habit to read the Scriptures devotionally in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

The master to whom he was apprenticed having died, Carey took over his stock and business, and married his master's sister-in-law—Dorothy Plackett—and all this before he was twenty years of age. Trade became dull, and his congregation at Barton were not able to raise enough even to pay for the clothes used by him in their service. At this period he also suffered much from fever, which had the result of making him bald for the rest of his life.

In 1786 he removed to Moulton and took charge of the dissenting congregation there. In this place he also taught a boys' school, but he was quite unfitted for such work and had no control over the pupils. The income which he received from his congregation was £11 a year, and £5 from a fund in London; and to eke out a living he was compelled to resume his former trade. Once a fortnight he walked eight

or ten miles to Northampton carrying on his shoulder a wallet filled with shoes, and then returned home with a fresh supply of leather. It has been usual to say that Carey was not proficient in his trade, but his own words are that he was accounted "a skilful and honest workman." Thirty years afterwards, when dining one day at Barrackpore with Lord Hastings, the Governor-general, one of the guests enquired of another whether Dr Carey had not once been a shoemaker. Happening to everhear the remark, he stepped forward and replied—"No, sir, only a cobbler."

The immediate cause of his being led to think of the state of the heathen was his reading Captain Cook's "Voyages." The idea of missions now took possession of him. The Rev. Andrew Fuller, Baptist minister at Kettering, has related that on going into Carey's workshop he saw hanging on the wall a large map consisting of several sheets of paper pasted together, on which he had also written items of information regarding the natural characteristics, the population, and the religion of the various countries of the world. Thus while he wrought with hammer and awl, his eyes often glanced at the map, and his thoughts were turned to what methods could be

devised for evangelising the heathen. Referring to such a scene, Wilberforce afterwards said in the House of Commons—"A sublimer thought cannot be conceived than when a poor cobbler formed the resolution to give to the millions of Hindoos the Bible in their own language."

At a meeting of ministers held at Northampton, Mr Carey proposed as a topic of discussion—"The duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the Gospel among heathen nations," when Mr Rylands, senior, rose and exclaimed—"Young man, sit down! When God pleases to convert the heathen He will do it without your aid or mine." The lack of sympathy from his brethren did not make him desist, but he embodied his views in a pamphlet; and so carried away was he with his project, that while engaged in compiling this pamphlet his own family could scarcely obtain a supply of bread. This publication marked a new beginning in the cause of missions. Its title is "An enquiry into the obligation of Christians to use means for the conversion of the heathens. In which the religious state of the different nations of the world, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings are considered. By William Carey. Leicester, 1792."

In 1789 he had removed to a congregation in

Leicester, but this church too was exceedingly poor; and so once more the attempt was made to teach a school; this time also the attempt was unsuccessful. His zeal in preaching the gospel both in Leicester and in the surrounding villages endeared him to all who loved the cause of religion.

In 1792, at a meeting of ministers at Nottingham, he preached the sermon which really laid the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society. The text was—"Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitation: spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes. For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles and make the desolate cities to be inhabited," Isaiah liv. 2, 3. From these words he enforced two principles—"Expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God." The ministers now agreed that a plan should be prepared for the establishment of a society for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, and that this plan should be ready to be laid before them at next meeting.

This meeting was held at Kettering on 2nd October 1792, in the house, which is still standing, of a widow lady, Mrs Beeby Wallis. Twelve ministers were present, and in accordance with

their promise they formed the Baptist Missionary Society, "to convey the message of salvation to some portion of the heathen world." The twelve ministers themselves then and there subscribed £13, 2s. 6d. No sooner was the subscription list filled up than Mr Carey offered to embark for any country the Society might select. The Rev. Andrew Fuller was appointed the first secretary.

Many congregations now began to send contributions, but the churches and ministers in London gave no help. "When we began in 1792," Mr Fuller afterwards remarked, "there was little or no respectability among us; not so much as a squire to sit in the chair or an orator to make speeches to him. Hence good Dr Stennett advised the London ministers to stand aloof and not commit themselves." The only minister in London who gave Mr Carey any sympathy was the venerable John Newton, who "advised him with the fidelity and tenderness of a father." In 1797 John Newton wrote: "Mr Carey has favoured me with a letter, which indeed I accept as a favour, and I mean to thank him for it. I trust my heart as cordially unites with him for the success of his mission as though I were a brother Baptist myself. I look up to such a man with reverence. He is

more to me than bishop or archbishop : he is an apostle. May the Lord make all who undertake missions like-minded with Mr Carey."

While the newly formed Society was deliberating in what quarter of the world their mission should be located, the question was providentially settled for them by the appearing of Mr John Thomas on his return from Bengal. Mr Thomas had been a surgeon in the service of the East India Company. He was now endeavouring to raise funds for a mission in India, and also to secure some one to go out with him to the work. The Society, after making enquiries regarding Mr Thomas, invited him to go to India as one of their missionaries, and Mr Carey was solicited to accompany him. " It is clear," said Mr Fuller to Carey, " that there is a rich mine of gold in India : if you will go down I will hold the ropes."

It was with much difficulty that the amount necessary to pay their fares to India was raised, even though Mr Fuller himself went to London to ask subscriptions from the wealthier members of the denomination : and the difficulty increased more than ever when the question arose what ship the two missionaries should sail in. At that time the only ships sailing from England to India were those of the East India Company, and no

passengers were carried except those who had received a license from the court of directors. The East India Company being openly hostile to missions, it was out-of-the-question to get a license. But the commander of the *Oxford* East Indiaman offered to take the two missionaries and to do so at his own risk. They accordingly went to the Isle of Wight, where the fleet was lying, and embarked in the *Oxford*. But when the fleet was within four days of sailing, the captain of the ship received a letter to the effect that he would be informed on to the directors for carrying passengers without a license; and without an hour's delay Mr Carey and Mr Thomas were rowed ashore. "Our plans are frustrated for the present," wrote Mr Carey to Mr Fuller; "but however mysterious the dealings of providence, I have no doubt they are directed by an infinitely wise God." On receipt of the letter Mr Fuller's words were, "We are all undone."

They were extricated from this difficulty by Mr Thomas happening to hear that a Danish East Indiaman was daily expected in the Downs. He therefore immediately proceeded to Northamptonshire, partly to raise funds, and also to make a last attempt to persuade Mrs Carey to accompany her husband to India. A reluctant consent

was secured, but only on condition that her sister should go with her. With this addition to their number, £600 were now required for the passage money for the two missionaries, the two ladies and the children. Notwithstanding the prolonged efforts which had been made the funds had not reached that amount. Mr Thomas therefore generously agreed with the shipping agents that he and Mrs Carey's sister should be rated as assistants, and take their meals at the steward's mess. On 13th June 1793 the whole party embarked on board the *Kron Princessa Maria*. On the day after sailing the captain was so gentlemanly as to request Mr Thomas and Mrs Carey's sister to take their seats at the cabin table.

Under the supervision of Mr Thomas, Mr Carey used his time on board ship in studying the Bengali language.

On 11th November they landed in Calcutta; but they were soon in new difficulties owing to Mr Thomas' unskilful management of money matters: he was embarrassed with debt, and seemed to have a nack of getting into difficult positions.

To escape these troubles, and in order to secure the means of livelihood, Mr Carey proceeded to the Soonderbuns—a vast tract of land south of

Calcutta and facing the Bay of Bengal. It was a region of jungle, tigers and malaria. He obtained a piece of land, and began to erect what he called his huts. "Wild hogs, deer, and fowl," he writes to Mr Fuller, "are to be procured with the gun, and must supply us with a considerable portion of our food. I find an inconvenience in having so much of my time taken up in procuring provisions and cultivating my little farm. But when my house is built I shall have more leisure than at present, and have daily opportunities of conversing with the natives and pursuing the work of the mission."

From this unfavourable position he was rescued by Mr Thomas, through whose influence he was appointed to superintend an indigo factory at Mudnabatty, near Malda, where Mr Thomas himself received a similar appointment. With a feeling of relief Mr Carey accepted the position, but his action was not very acceptable to the directors of the Missionary Society in England, who do not themselves seem to have been too liberal, or to have sent him during the previous three years more than £200. They wrote a letter of "serious and affectionate caution to him lest he should allow the spirit of the missionary to be swallowed up in the pursuits of the merchant."

To this Mr Carey replied, "I can only say that after my family's obtaining a bare subsistence, my whole income, and some months more, goes for the purpose of the gospel, in supporting persons to assist in the translation of the Bible, in writing out copies of it, and in teaching school. I am indeed poor, and shall always be so until the Bible is published in Bengali and Hindustani, and the people want no further instruction."

His salary from the indigo factory was at this time about £240 a year. The employees at the factory numbered about ninety, and every day he gathered them together for Christian worship. He also constantly visited the surrounding villages, preaching the gospel to the people. He made an attempt at teaching a school for native children, but his chief work was the translation of the New Testament into Bengali, and this he now completed. The printers in Calcutta demanded £4400 for printing ten thousand copies unbound; but this sum being exorbitant and beyond his means, another way was found of having it published. Mr Udny, one of whose factories Mr Carey was superintending, bought a second-hand printing press and presented it to the mission; and thus the New Testament was printed. When the natives saw the press and heard Mr Carey speak

of its wonderful power, they said that it was an European idol!

Mr Carey had now lived at Mudnabatty for five years, during which he had preached the gospel far and near and with untiring energy, but little fruit had yet appeared. The providence of God was opening up his way to another scene of labour; for the indigo factories had been so unprofitable that Mr Udny was forced to part with them, and thus Mr Carey's regular income ceased. On hearing of this the Missionary Society in England acted generously and paid him the arrears of salary which he had previously declined to receive. He now purchased from Mr Udny, for £300, a small indigo factory, from the profits of which he hoped to be able to support the mission. But events of which he had not thought were now to open a career of success.

In 1799 Mr William Ward and Mr Joshua Marshman were sent out to India by the Society in England; and as the regulations of the East India Company were now exceedingly strict against any European being allowed to set foot on British India without a license, they resolved to go at once to Serampore, a Danish settlement on the Hoogly, fifteen miles above Calcutta.

On hearing that two missionaries had landed

—for Mr Carey and Mr Thomas entered themselves in the official government returns as "indigo planters,"—the British authorities made an attempt to expel them from India; but now that they were actually on Danish territory, the attempt was given up.

Mr Carey was invited to join Mr Ward and Mr Marshman at Serampore, but was unwilling to leave British territory where he had a footing. His objections, however, were overruled by a letter which Mr Marshman received to the effect that "some of the higher officers of government were incensed to find that the missionaries had obtained an asylum beyond their reach in a foreign settlement, and had expressed their determination to arrest any of them who might be found in the Company's territories." This seems to have determined the question, and he joined his colleagues at Serampore. (Here he arrived on 10th January 1800 with his four children and his wife, who was now helplessly insane.)

A carpenter in Serampore had dislocated his arm, and Mr Thomas was called on to attend to the injury. When he had set the arm, he fervently exhorted his patient regarding the great truths of salvation, and also about the folly of idolatry. The man was deeply affected and became a con-

stant visitor at the mission house, where he eagerly received further Christian instruction. He received the truth in the love of it, and was baptized: he then broke his caste by eating with the missionaries, to the great astonishment of the servants.

On this being known a commotion was caused in the town: a wild crowd of some two thousand persons surrounded his house, and dragged him before the Danish magistrate. But instead of doing as the mob wished him to do, the magistrate commended Krishna Pal for obeying his conscience, ordered a soldier to protect him, and commanded the crowd to disperse. He also offered, should it be necessary, to protect the missionaries from all violence whenever baptism was to be administered. So altogether friendly were the Danish authorities. Their kindly and sympathetic action was of the utmost value to the mission and saved it from being extinguished, as would certainly have happened had the English authorities been able to carry out their wishes. These events took place in the first year of the work at Serampore.

In 1801 the first female convert was baptized: she was a sister-in-law of Krishna, and was named Joyminee. There was also baptised Mr

Fernandez, a gentleman of Portuguese descent. He had been a friend of Mr Carey at Mudnabatty; and for more than thirty years he continued to give active and willing help to the Serampore missionaries, and was also the means of raising a large and flourishing native congregation, of which he took the pastoral oversight.

The printing of the Bengali New Testament was completed in this year. A large part of the type had been set by Mr Ward's hands.

The College of Fort William in Calcutta had just been founded by Lord Wellesley for the purpose of educating the junior members of the civil service, and of giving them a grammatical knowledge of the native Indian languages. It so happened that there was only one person capable of filling the office of teacher of Bengali, but he would accept it only on condition of being allowed full freedom as a missionary. Notwithstanding this condition, Lord Wellesley directed that Mr Carey should receive the appointment. This office carried with it a salary of 500 rupees a month. Mr Carey at once wrote to Mr Fuller that the mission would have an ample income from this source as well as from the returns of Mr Marshman's school, and that they would require no further remittances from England

for their personal support. This arrangement, so altogether creditable to the missionaries, was accordingly acted on.

In 1800 the political relations between England and Denmark were ruptured, and in May of the following year British troops took possession of Serampore. This was a serious event for the mission, which was thus deprived of the friendly protection so willingly rendered by Denmark. But the antagonism of the British government to the spread of the gospel in India was now modified, and nothing occurred to disturb the working of the mission.

Soon after this time Mr Thomas died, and the other three missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward, were left to work alone. But the Lord worked with them, and they had the pleasure of seeing among the newly baptised converts three men from the Kayust, or writer caste, and one from that of the Brahmins.

The British government, while tardily refraining from open hostility to the mission, was openly patronizing to heathenism. "Last week," writes Mr Ward, "a deputation from government went in procession to Kalee ghaut—the most opulent and popular shrine of the metropolis—and presented 5000 rupees to the idol in the name of

the Company, for the success which had attended the British arms."

The attention of the Governor-general was called to the practice of sacrificing children at the annual festival held at Gunga Saugor, and Mr Carey was directed by the government to report upon it. This duty was most congenial to him; and his report was the means of a law being passed, by which the sacrificing of children was prohibited under severe penalties.

Meanwhile he continued his work in the College, in which he was now also appointed teacher of Sanskrit, but with no additional salary. He compiled a Bengali grammar as well as other books in that language, and also began a Sanskrit grammar.

Mr Marshman's school was such a success that he drew from it £1000 a year; yet of this sum he took only £34 annually for the personal expenses of his family. Mr Ward drew from the press a corresponding allowance of £20; and Mr Carey received for himself and his family £40 a year, to which was added £20 for "decent apparel" in which to appear at the College and Government House. Such was the self-denial of the Serampore missionaries.

On 19th July 1802, Serampore was handed

back to the Danish authorities; but whether under a Danish or British government the work of the mission went on uninterruptedly. Serampore eventually was incorporated in British India.

Their method of proclaiming the gospel is thus described:—"When the sun is going down, one of us, taking some tracts in his hands, goes out into some part of Serampore or its neighbourhood, talks to the people, and distributes the papers; another does the same in another direction; while a third goes one evening to the Bengali schoolhouse, and another evening to Krishnu's little meeting-house. After this our Hindoo friends come every evening to our house. In our family worship the chapter in the Old Testament, after being read in English, is translated offhand and read in Bengali. When proceeding to a distance we travel, eat and sleep in a boat, and going from place to place preach and distribute tracts."

The equalizing power of the gospel was now seen in the little Christian community when Krishnu-prisad the Brahmin received the communion cup at the Lord's Table from the hand of Krishnu, a Soodra; and about four months thereafter the same Brahmin was united in

marriage to the daughter of the same Soodra, Krishnu the carpenter. After the bride and bridegroom had plighted their troth, they both signed the marriage contract—the first to which a Hindoo female had affixed her signature for centuries.

In the beginning of 1804, three months before the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded, the three missionaries at Serampore submitted to the home committee a plan or proposal for the translation and publication of the Bible into the languages of the East. They wrote that there were at least seven languages current in India—the Bengali, the Hindustani, the Oriya, the Telugu, the Kurnata, the Mahrathi, and Tamil; and they proposed to translate at least the New Testament into some if not all of these languages.

The home committee, under the direction of Mr Fuller, heartily fell in with the plan, and determined that such a work should not be hindered through lack of funds.

The work of translation and dictionary-making went on apace. Mr Carey and Mr Marshman undertook the publication of some of the most celebrated Sanskrit classics, with an English translation; and in this, too, their aim was the

extension of the mission—"means would thus be obtained of supporting at least one missionary station."

The Serampore missionaries had again and again called the attention of the English authorities to sutteeism or the burning alive of Hindoo widows on the funeral pile of their dead husbands. The first time that Carey saw the burning of a widow was when his residence at Mudnabatty was nearing its close. One evening as he was returning by boat from Calcutta, on going ashore near a village he observed a crowd of people by the river side: they had come to burn the body of a dead man, and the widow was to be burned with him. A pile made of large billets of wood had been erected, and on this the dead body lay while the widow stood close by. Her nearest relative stood beside her, and at a little distance was a basket of sweetmeats. When Carey asked whether it was the woman's choice to die on her husband's funeral pyre, or whether she was influenced or compelled, he was told that she was doing so of her own free will. He reasoned and remonstrated, but to no purpose; and then he exclaimed against what they were about to do as being no less than murder. It was in vain. They told him it was a great act of holiness, and that he

might go away if he did not wish to see it. But he declined to go, and said he would be a witness against their deed. Then turning to the widow he pled with her not to throw away her life. In reply she mounted the pile and danced on it, with her hands extended. She had previously passed six times round the pile, scattering the sweetmeats among the spectators. After dancing on the pile she lay down beside the corpse and put her arms around its neck. Then a quantity of dry leaves and other fuel was heaped above them, and some melted butter was poured on the top. Two bamboos were held down fast over them, and the nearest relative then set fire to the pile, which immediately blazed up fiercely. If the woman groaned or screamed the shouting of the spectators prevented her cries from being heard; and if she tried to escape the bamboos effectually prevented her, for they held her down "like the leaves of a press." Carey went away agonized and horror-stricken.

In 1804 Mr Carey found after enquiry that in the villages within a circle of thirty miles around Calcutta more than three hundred widows had been burned alive within six months. He laid these and other relative facts before Lord Wellesley, and entreated him to prohibit the practice, as had already been done in the case

of the sacrifice of children at Saugor. But Lord Wellesley was about to leave India, and thought he could not venture then to issue the prohibition. Sutteeism therefore continued to exist for some twenty-five years longer, during which seventy thousand more widows were burned alive as the victims of a cruel heathen superstition.

After Lord Wellesley left India, the East India Company became more intolerant toward Protestant missions, although it gave free scope to the Church of Rome and even took heathenism under its patronage.

Certain new military regulations had been made, and among these it was enacted that the sepoys should appear on parade with the chin shaved and the moustache trimmed after a particular fashion; that they should cease to display any distinguishing marks of caste, and should wear a turban of a new pattern.

These orders were most unacceptable, and the result was that the sepoys, being worked into desperation, broke out in mutiny. On 10th July 1806, at two o'clock in the morning, they rose against the European soldiers in Vellore as they lay asleep, and massacred the colonel and thirteen officers as well as ninety-seven non-commissioned officers and men. This mutiny was quickly put

down, and nearly four hundred of the mutineers were put to death.

This event, though it was in no way connected with Christian missions, was nevertheless laid to their charge. The East India Company used the fact of this mutiny as the strongest reason for trying to bring the Baptist mission to an end, and the Governor-general, Sir George Barlow, sent for one of the magistrates and directed him to call on Mr Carey and request him and his colleagues at once to cease from mission work among the natives.

This entire prohibition was soon afterwards relaxed a little; but even with the partial liberty proposed to be given, the mission was virtually closed unless the public authorities in England could be induced to grant a freedom which the Indian officials refused.

On the arrival of two new missionaries who had come to Calcutta in an American vessel, and who on landing had proceeded to Serampore, the authorities made every attempt to compel the captain of the ship to take the two gentlemen with him out of the country; and were only restrained from violent measures when it was represented to them that this would involve England in difficulties both with Denmark and with the United States.

The appeal to England brought little success. The prejudices entertained by the East India Company were then invincible, and all that could be done, even by those of the directors who were favourable to the mission and by Mr Robert Dundas, the president of the board of control, was to prevent an order from being drawn up for the expulsion of Mr Carey and his colleagues from India. It was not until six years had passed that permission was obtained to itinerate and evangelize throughout British India.

In the beginning of 1807 a statute was passed by the Company to remodel the College of Fort William; and among other changes, Mr Carey, from being merely a teacher, was raised to a professorship, and his salary increased from 500 to 1000 rupees a month. In March of the same year he received from Brown University, U.S.A., the degree of D.D.

During this time of opposition and difficulty his labours were never relaxed. An idea of how his time was occupied is given in a private letter dated June 1806:—"I rose this morning at a quarter before six, read a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and spent the time till seven in private addresses to God, and then attended family prayer with the servants in Bengali. While

tea was getting ready I read a little in Persian with the moonshi, who was waiting when I left my bedroom: read also before breakfast a portion of the Scriptures in Hindustani. The moment breakfast was over, sat down to the translation of Ramayun from the Sanskrit, with a pundit who was also waiting, and continued this translation till ten o'clock, at which hour I went to College and attended the duties there till between one and two o'clock. When I returned home I examined a proof sheet of the Bengali translation of Jeremiah, which took till dinner time. After dinner, translated, with the assistance of the chief pundit of the College, the greatest part of the eighth chapter of Matthew in Sanskrit. This employed me till six o'clock. After six, sat down with a Telugu pundit to learn that language. At seven I began to collect a few previous thoughts into the form of a sermon, and preached in English at half-past seven. About forty persons present. After sermon I sat down and translated the eleventh of Ezekiel into Bengali, and this lasted till near eleven, and now I sit down to write to you. After this I conclude the evening by reading a chapter in the Greek Testament and commending myself to God. I have never more time in a day

than this, though the exercises vary." "It will serve to give some idea of the strength of Dr Carey's character, to state that the biblical and literary labours in which he had been engaged since his arrival at Serampore were prosecuted with an insane wife, frequently wrought up to a state of the most deplorable excitement, confined in an adjoining room."

The translation of the Scriptures into the languages of India had not been interrupted: and in this work they had the cordial co-operation of Rev. Mr Buchanan, and Rev. Mr Brown, two of the chaplains in Calcutta, and their most generous contributions too, Mr Buchanan contributing no less a sum than £500, and Mr Brown £100. The subscriptions in Calcutta amounted to £1000, and £2000 were raised in England and America.

The friendship was a cordial one between the Serampore missionaries and those likeminded chaplains Mr Buchanan and Mr Brown. And there was now added to their number Henry Martyn. He arrived in Calcutta in 1806, and soon came to Serampore, where he resided with Mr Brown. "As the shadow of bigotry is not known among us here, writes Mr Carey, we take sweet counsel together and go to the house of God as friends."

An old pagoda in Mr Brown's garden was fitted up by him as a Christian church, and in it denominational feelings were forgotten while Brown, Martyn and Corrie, with Carey, Marshman and Ward, Churchman and Nonconformist joined together in fellowship and united in Christian worship. This intercourse between the Church of England chaplains and the Baptist missionaries during that time of protracted opposition to mission work was an oasis in the desert.

On the arrival of Lord Minto as Governor-general, the opposition became still more intense. The idea under which the government then acted was that nothing could be done to carry the gospel to the natives without the greatest political danger. A letter was sent to Dr Carey ordering the discontinuance of preaching in a little chapel recently opened in Calcutta, and also containing the command that no publications with a view to the conversion of the natives should be issued from the Serampore mission press. The Governor-general also commanded them to remove the mission press from Serampore to Calcutta in order that the government might there exercise a more efficient control over it.

On receipt of this communication Dr Carey

exclaimed, "Never had such a letter been written by any government before. Roman Catholics have persecuted other Christians under the name of heretics, but no Christian government that I know of has ever prohibited attempts to spread the gospel among the heathen."

This order involved no less than the suppression of all mission work. Immediately on receipt of this letter the three missionaries met and prayed to be guided aright. In their reply they simply acknowledged receipt of the letter.

Dr Carey and Mr Marshman, knowing how friendly the Danish Governor was, were willing to leave the matter in his hands, trusting to the Danish authorities to protect them; but Mr Ward expostulated with his colleagues to the effect that even if the press were not removed from Serampore, in any case the British government would now be their avowed enemies, and that though they could not be turned out of Serampore, yet their operations might be restricted to that one town, their translations of the Scriptures might be stopped, and other evils might result. Mr Ward's argument ended by saying "Tender words, with the consciences of men on our side, go a long way. We may tell them that we are willing to do everything they desire, except to

renounce our work and character as ministers of the Saviour of the world."

Mr Ward's advice was acted on, and an interview was obtained with Lord Minto. The interview was wholly successful. Lord Minto accepted from Dr Carey a copy of the Ramayun. They also offered him copies of any other literary works which they had printed. Mr Marshman then asked that they should be allowed to present a private memorial; and this also was agreed to. They laid before Lord Minto a short history of the origin and progress of the mission. Mr Marshman also pled that the order for the removal of the mission press to Calcutta should not be enforced, for this would be equivalent to the ruin of the mission. Lord Minto assured them that he felt no hostility to them or to their work, and said that men expected missionaries to have some enthusiasm and to be able to bear the frowns of those in authority!

On his return to Serampore, Mr Marshman drew up the memorial. It shortly described the origin and work of the Baptist Missionary Society, and strongly deprecated the removal of the printing establishment.

On receipt of this memorial, Lord Minto proposed a resolution in the council by which the

former order was revoked, and works intended for circulation in British India were simply to be submitted to the inspection of the Company's officers. This resolution was adopted; and the mission once more breathed freely.

Considerable hostility was still shown in England both by the East India Company and by various writers, one of the most notable of whom was Sydney Smith, whose writings were skilfully aimed for the purpose of throwing ridicule upon the work at Serampore and trying to show that missions in India would end in the insurrection of the natives, that the persons engaged, *i.e.* Dr Carey and his associates, were utterly unfit for the work, and that Christian missions in present circumstances were utterly hopeless. Sydney Smith's opinion of what he had written is—"In rooting out a nest of consecrated cobblers, and in bringing to light such a perilous heap of trash as we were obliged to work through in our articles on Methodists and Missionaries we are generally considered to have rendered a useful service to the cause of rational religion." But the author of this attack lived to regret it, and he afterwards expressed to Lord Macaulay his sorrow for having written against the work at Serampore.

This controversy—for the missionaries had their defenders—ended in an article which Robert Southey wrote. It concluded in these words: "We who have thus vindicated them are neither blind to what is erroneous in their doctrines nor ridiculous in their phraseology, but the anti-missionaries cull out from their journals and letters all that is ridiculous, sectarian and trifling; call them fools, madmen, tinkers, Calvinists and schismatics; and keep out of sight their love of men and their zeal for God, and their self-devotedness, their indefatigable industry, their unequalled learning. These 'low born and low bred mechanics' have translated the whole Bible into Bengali and have by this time printed it. They are printing the New Testament in the Sanskrit, Orissa, the Mahrathi, the Hindustani, the Gujarati, and translating it into Persic, Telinga, Kurnata, Chinese, the language of the Sikhs, and the Burmese. Extraordinary as this is, it will appear still more so, when it is remembered that of these men one was originally a shoemaker, another a printer at Hull, and the third the master of a Charity School at Bristol. Only fourteen years have elapsed since Thomas and Carey set foot in India, and in that time these missionaries have acquired this gift of tongues. In fourteen years

these low born, low bred mechanics have done more to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among the heathen than has been accomplished or even attempted by all the world beside."

The difficulties in the way of the opening of a place of worship in Calcutta were at length surmounted, and on 1st January 1809, divine service was begun in a large chapel in Bow bazaar. It cost £3200, of which nearly a half was with their usual liberality and self-denial, given by the Serampore missionaries themselves.

Dr Carey had enjoyed the best of health for nearly ten years in Serampore, but in July 1809, on the day after he had completed the publication of the Bengali Bible, he was prostrated by fever which was nearly fatal. He was now forty-eight years of age, and on his recovery from this illness he threw himself into his work with more vigour than ever. In a letter written by him at this time to Mr Fuller he urged the need of beginning mission work in Siam, Pegu, Aracan, Nepaul, and Assam. Like Wesley, he felt that the world was his parish.

As the East India Company refused to allow any new missionaries to land in India, Dr Carey and his colleagues saw that one of their chief requirements was to train a native ministry. In

the case of native preachers no licences or passports were needed. Two native preachers were set apart, one to be stationed in Jessore, and the other on the borders of Orissa.

The attitude of the government being now more favourable to the working of the mission, measures were at once taken to extend it. "Now," said Mr Ward, "we shall be tolerated like toads and not hunted down like wild beasts."

Dr Carey was not afflicted with self-esteem as the following extract shows:—"I have often thought that the work must be obstructed by me, and that the God who aboundeth in all wisdom and prudence in the dispensations of His grace could not give a blessing to the labours of such an one as I am." "I have for years been obliged to drag myself on, to subject myself to rules, to impose the day's work on myself, and after all to sit down in confusion at my indolence and inertness. I often compare myself with my brethren Marshman and Ward. The first is all eagerness for the work. Often have I seen him when we have been walking together, eye a group of persons as a hawk looks at his prey, and go up to them with a resolution to try the utmost effort of gospel reasons on them. In point of zeal he is Luther, I am Erasmus. Brother Ward

has such a facility of addressing spiritual things to the heart, and his thoughts run so naturally in that channel that he fixes the mind of all who hear him on what he says, while I, after making repeated efforts can scarcely get out a few dry sentences, and should I meet with a rebuff at the beginning, sit like a silly mute and scarcely say anything at all." In a letter to Ryland he says, "I alone am unfit to be called a missionary and often doubt whether I am a Christian."

In March 1812 the printing establishment was consumed by fire; in a single night there was destroyed the labour of twelve years. In addition to a large supply of English type and paper, there were in the printing office no fewer than fourteen founts in the Eastern languages. In those days there were neither fire engines nor fire insurance offices in India, so the premises were utterly destroyed, and the loss amounting to £7000 fell wholly on the mission. But the next day as Mr Ward examined the ruins caused by the fire, he found to his great joy that the punches and matrices were uninjured, and instantly they set themselves to undo the work of the flames.

The pundits were anew set to translation; the

typecasters were also busily employed; and at the end of thirty days two of the versions were again in the press. All was in full operation again within a few months. Subscriptions to repair the loss poured in freely both in India and in Britain. The fire had given a celebrity to the Serampore mission press which would have been otherwise unattainable.

Once more the hostility of the government burst out with renewed violence, and this happily was for the last time. Five American missionaries, one of whom was Dr Judson, landed in Calcutta and were immediately expelled. It was this forcible expulsion that led to Dr Judson's settling in Burmah. One of the newly arrived Serampore missionaries, Mr Johns, was peremptorily ordered to quit the country, and he returned to England. Such were the violent and arbitrary measures of Lord Minto's administration.

In writing of these things to Mr Fuller, Dr Carey said, "I have endeavoured to acquit the government of religious persecution, but my mind will not do it. Lord Minto has no dislike to us; he is a man of amiable disposition and a professed friend of liberty. But it is in the power of a secretary to prepare and present such a statement as the government cannot refrain from

noticing. I never before heard of a man like Mr Johns, of liberal education and scientific acquirements and inoffensive conduct, being sent back to Europe unless he had meddled with politics, or in some way or other rendered himself troublesome to government: and in no instance of a man like Mr Robinson being ordered out of the country after a residence of six years in it. The fault lies in the clause which gives the Company power to send home interlopers, and it is just as reasonable as to forbid every man to look at the moon, and will, I trust, be modified in the next charter."

The renewal of the East India Company's charter was to settle what liberty, if any, should be granted to missions in India. It was round this point that the battle was waged. "Almost all men of influence, as was remarked by Mr Charles Grant, appeared to think and act on the conviction that duty and success lay in slighting Christianity, while they manifested the most delicate regard to the wildest superstitions of heathenism." The strife was long and keen. Champions like Wilberforce arose to plead in the British Parliament the cause of the gospel in India, and by God's blessing their efforts were crowned with victory.

Mr Fuller died in 1815. During his life the intercourse between the Serampore missionaries and the Home Committee had been most harmonious and friendly. In clear judgment and in resolution he was no less conspicuous than in kindliness of heart. And during those first twenty years of the infancy of the mission, when its very existence was so often imperilled, his master mind and hand surmounted the greatest obstacles. He lived until all of these were overcome or removed.

But his death was an untold loss. The Home Committee were now personally unacquainted with what had occurred during those twenty years; and almost at once friction arose in the working of the mission. To such a length did this go that Dr Carey, Dr Marshman, and Mr Ward were left in a position of isolation, both from the other Baptist missionaries in India and from the Home Committee.

Mr Ward having returned to England for a time on account of his health found everywhere at work the most marvellous calumnies against himself, and Dr Carey, and Dr Marshman. They were charged with the accumulation of private wealth, and that all that they had said of disinterestedness was untrue. Contributions were falling

off in consequence of these rumours. It was the most cruel way to requite the work of the three Serampore missionaries. "Had not my dependence been upon God," wrote Dr Marshman, "I should either have been transported with anger under the trials I have had to endure, and have given up the support of the mission, or have sunk under the treatment I have received . . . and have died of a broken heart. In our late examination which the unkindness of others constrained us to make, we found that the sum contributed by my family would have given us an income of £1200 a year in England and £2000 a year in India. I rejoice more, unspeakably more, in having thus devoted it to the cause of God than as though the whole sum lay by me at this moment." How unjust those charges against the Serampore missionaries were, appears from the fact that up to 1826 they had expended on the work in India more that £58,000, and had received from England only a little more than £10,000. The total amount contributed by them to the cause of missions has been estimated at little short of £80,000.

The ungenerous suspicions circulating throughout England were not allowed to slacken their labours in India, nor to stop the erection of the College which they were building on the Hoogly

opposite to Barrackpore Park. The cost of the College buildings was £15,000, and this amount Dr Carey, Dr Marshman, and Mr Ward themselves contributed. Such was the work of the men who at this period were unceasingly regarded in England with suspicion and charged with greed and avarice!

They had now published translations of the New Testament in no fewer than twenty of the languages of India. The translation and printing and publication of so many versions was not effected without expense, not only of time and care, but also of money. And as the whole expenses of these as well as the erection of the College had fallen on the resources of the Serampore missionaries, they now found themselves involved in a state of financial embarrassment and of extreme difficulty. These words of Dr Carey explain the situation:—"The buildings of the College have completely drained us. . . . And our printing the Scriptures in the languages of India, on the faith of supplies from Britain, has involved us in such a state of debt as we never knew before, and in which we little expected to be left in our old age, after so many years' exertion for the cause of God in India."

In order to obtain some relief from this painful

position they wrote in urgent terms to the Bible Society in London requesting help. It is to the great honour of the Bible Society that they nobly responded to this appeal, for they sent Dr Carey for the translation fund £3000, as well as a sum of £2000 which they had voted before his appeal reached them. Other amounts were also remitted to them by the Bible Society, and in this way they were extricated from their difficulties.

Literary labours for the government as well as in the compiling of lexicons in the Bootan and Bengali languages, now occupied much of Dr Carey's attention. But he successfully accomplished these tasks by the magic of method and by a cheerful temper.

A great loss was suffered by the mission through the death of Mr Ward on 7th March 1823: he died of cholera. Thus there was removed the first of the three Serampore brethren. In business talent, industry, and clear judgment he had been eminent. His labour for the mission had been unceasing. He never made an enemy.

An accident caused through Dr Carey's foot slipping resulted in an illness of long duration, during the course of which the river burst its banks, covered the streets of Serampore, and in its encroachment utterly destroyed the house in

which the invalid had been lying. The Home Committee, to their credit, treated the Serampore mission in a more generous way, and sent £1000 to repair the damage. It can scarcely be believed that the missionaries were thereafter publicly accused in Calcutta of having embezzled (!) £22,000 which the Home Society was *said* to have sent them. They applied to the Home Committee to exonerate them from this charge, but in reply received a letter declining to audit their accounts, and also declining to defend them from the charge of inconsistency. On receipt of this communication Dr Carey exclaimed, "Is this the reward of thirty-three years of labour, and of an entire sacrifice of all personal advantage for so long a period."

This unkind feeling toward the mission continued to increase until on 15th March 1827 the Home Committee severed their connection with Serampore—a melancholy event.

These unhappy disputes between the Serampore missionaries and the Home Committee regarding the management of the mission and of the mission property, were largely the result of misunderstanding. But the memory of this breach of unity has well-nigh faded away, and no two opinions now exist as to the disinterestedness

and whole-hearted devotion of Carey, Marshman, and Ward.

Meanwhile in India the mission was making the most gratifying progress, and the number of stations and of converts increased.

The year 1829 is that in which Sutteeism in India was prohibited. Twenty-five years before this time Dr Carey had pleaded in vain that the government should do this; but now Lord William Bentinck was Governor-general, and he determined that the burning alive of widows should be allowed no longer. A copy of the Act was sent to Dr Carey to be translated into Bengali. It was Sunday morning when he received it. Throwing off his coat he exclaimed: "No church for me to-day: if I delay an hour to translate and publish this, many a widow's life may be sacrificed." The translation was finished and in the hands of the authorities before night.

Unhappily the financial embarrassment of the Serampore mission continued more or less to the end of Dr Carey's life.

Forty years' incessant labour in the exhausting climate of Bengal had brought much weakness with it. During those forty years he had never left the shores of India. Dreading to be useless as long as life endured, he continued to work

even when scarcely able to sit at his desk. For several months before his death he could not rise from his couch.

"There is nothing remarkable in what I have done," he said, "it has only required patience and perseverance." "Indolence is my prevailing sin," was his gratuitous self-condemnation.

"One passage of Scripture gives me great comfort," he remarked. He was asked what passage? "That passage which says, 'If we confess our sins He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Now I am sure I confess my sins, and if God forgives them and cleanses me from *all* unrighteousness, what more can I desire?"

One of his last visitors was Rev. Alexander Duff of the Scotch mission in Calcutta, who conversed with him on the subject of his past life, and then prayed with him before leaving. Then the dying man whispered, "Mr Duff, you have been talking about *Doctor* Carey, *Doctor* Carey: when I am gone say nothing about Dr Carey,—speak about Dr Carey's *Saviour!*"

He died on 9th June 1834: he was in his seventy-third year. By his own directions the inscription on his tomb is in these words:

"WILLIAM CAREY,
Born August 1761 ; *Died 9th June* 1834."

"A wretched, poor, and helpless worm
On Thy kind arms I fall."

In a letter written years before the three Serampore missionaries give us these words of cheer:—"We are sure to take the fortress if we can persuade ourselves to sit down long enough before it. And then, my dear brethren, when it shall be said of the scene of our labours: The infamous swinging post is no longer erected—the widow burns no more on the funeral pile—the obscene songs and dances are heard and seen no more—the gods are thrown to the moles and to the bats, and Jesus is known as the God of the whole land—the poor Hindoo goes no more to the Ganges to be washed from his filthiness, but to the fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness—the temples are forsaken, and the crowd say, 'Let us go up to the house of the Lord and He shall teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His statutes'—the anxious Hindoos no more consume their property, their strength and their lives in vain pilgrimages, but come at once to Him who can save to the uttermost—the sick and dying are no more dragged to the Ganges, but look to the Lamb of God, and

commit their souls into His faithful hands—the children, no longer sacrificed to idols, are become 'the seed of the Lord'—the public morals are improved — the language of Canaan is learned—benevolent societies are formed—civilization and salvation walk arm in arm together—the desert blossoms—the earth yields her increase, and redeemed souls from the different towns and villages and cities of this immense country constantly add to the number, and swell the chorus of the redeemed—'Unto Him that washed us from our sins in His own blood, unto Him be the glory'—when this grand result of the labours of God's servants in India shall be realised, shall we then think that we have laboured in vain and spent our strength for nought?"

REGINALD HEBER.

"Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King."

THE Hebers are an English family of ancient lineage and high standing. Their ancestral estate is Hodnet in Shropshire, and not far off is the parish of Malpas in the rectory of which on 21st April 1783, Reginald Heber was born.

The first fourteen years of his life were spent "under the hourly influence of parents and teachers, whose wisdom and culture were directed by the love of God." And in this he was peculiarly happy; for not only the Church of England, but the Christian Church everywhere was at that time in much spiritual torpor: not yet had she listened to the call 'Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion: put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem the holy city;' but the era of revival and benevolence to the outcast and the heathen, though not yet come, was close at hand. That era was almost synchronous with the French Revolution: the new beginning of Protestant foreign missions was made in 1793, when Carey sailed for India.

The beginnings of Christian life in Heber are dated from his infancy: his mother's living piety influenced her son from his cradle. From a child he knew the Holy Scriptures, and could read them with ease before he was five years old. So free was he from outbursts of temper, that the servants used to say, "Master Reginald never was in a passion." In his boyhood, as in after life he was distinguished for unselfishness and sympathy. Books he not only read but devoured, and that in an omnivorous manner.

At fifteen he left home for Neasden, then near London but now part of the mighty city, where for the next five years he was under the tuition and training of a clergyman, Dr Bristow. He excelled in Latin and Greek, drawing was a favourite pastime, and natural history gave scope to his power of observation. Already there appeared the poetic faculty which was afterwards so marked; and Spenser, along with the Bible, was his *vade mecum.*

In his eighteenth year he went to Oxford. Sir Charles Grey, afterwards Chief Justice in Calcutta, then one of Heber's fellow-students, has recorded that he was "beyond all question or comparison the most distinguished student of his time. The name of Reginald Heber was in every mouth; his

society was courted by young and old; he lived in an atmosphere of favour, admiration, and regard, from which I have never known any one but himself who would not have derived, and for life, an unsalutary influence."

In 1803 he wrote his University prize poem *Palestine*. Sir Walter Scott gives us these reminiscences of Heber and *Palestine*. "I spent some merry days with him at Oxford when he was writing his prize poem. He was then a gay young fellow, a wit and a satirist and burning for literary fame. My laurels were beginning to bloom, and we were both madcaps. Who would have foretold our future lot?" His wit had no malice in it, nor was his humour tinged with grossness.

At a breakfast party in Heber's room Sir Walter was present. *Palestine* was the subject of conversation, and it was produced and read. Sir Walter said, "You have omitted one striking circumstance in your account of the building of the temple, that no tools were used in its erection." Reginald retired from the breakfast table to a corner of the room, and before the party separated produced the lines which now form part of the poem:—

> "No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung,
> Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung.
> Majestic silence!"

Christopher North, another of his contemporaries, wrote in regard to Heber's recitation of the poem before the University. "As his voice grew bolder and more sonorous in the hush, the audience felt that this was not the mere display of the skill and ingenuity of a clever youth, the accidental triumph of an accomplished versifier over his compeers in the dexterity of scholarship, which is all that can generally be truly said of such exhibitions—but that here was a poet indeed not only of bright promise but of high achievement—one whose name was already written in the roll of the immortals. And that feeling, whatever might have been the share of the boundless enthusiasm with which the poem was listened to, attributable to the *genius loci*, has been since sanctioned by the judgment of the world that has placed *Palestine* at the very head of the poetry on divine subjects of this age. It is now incorporated for ever with the poetry of England."

From this scene of literary triumph Heber at once retired to the privacy of his own room where his mother found him giving thanks to God.

Having taken his B.A. degree, and having gained the University Bachelor's prize for the English prose essay on *A sense of Honour*, he

completed his University course by being elected one of the fifty Fellows of All Souls College. All grades of society were then permeated by a code of honour which was far from being that of the New Testament; and Reginald Heber in this as in many other matters was in advance of his time. One who knew him well used to say that "if his heart had no other covering than a glass, its thoughts were so pure that no one need fear to read them."

He left Oxford "the first man in the University in personal influence and popularity, in literature and in scholarship." His purpose now was to make such a tour of the continent and of the East as was possible at that time of European war and commotion. In this tour in which he visited the countries of Europe from Norway to the Crimea, he spent nearly the whole of his twenty-second year.

On his return to England he went into residence at All Souls and prepared for ordination. In the summer of 1807 he was ordained and was immediately presented by his elder brother Richard to the rectory of Hodnet. Here he lived and worked in the ministry for fifteen years.

To all the labours devolving on a parish clergyman he gave himself without reserve, a guide,

philosopher, and friend to all his people, devotedly studying their wants and interests, his time busily occupied in visitation, in care for the sick, in charities, in preparation for the pulpit both of his own congregation and of the various chapels of ease. Yet his sympathies were strongly with "the church" as opposed to Nonconformity. For example, he writes on 7th August 1807, "The Methodists in Hodnet are, thank God, not very numerous, and I hope to diminish them still more: they are, however, sufficiently numerous to serve as a spur to my emulation." He also writes that his congregation appeared to be thinner since Rowland Hill's visit to the country: "it has made me really uncomfortable." Heber was to learn to look upon his brethren in Christ with far more sympathy: and then, "he burned, he preached, he lectured, he wrote, he travelled, he organised, he prayed with the one mission to bring to Christ the Crucified every sinner of mankind."

In 1809 he was happily married to Amelia, the youngest daughter of Dr Shipley, Dean of St Asaph.

In 1814 he was appointed Bampton Lecturer. The subject which he chose was "The Personality and Office of the Christian Comforter." In these

sermons he both critically exposed the Arian and other opposing systems, and also gave a positive treatment of the subject. Of the work of the Holy Spirit he says: "It is this which gives life and vigour to every religious truth which we hear; this which imprints on our soul and recalls to our attention those sacred principles to which our reason has already assented. Distinct from conscience, but the vital spark by which our natural conscience is sanctified, it both enables us to choose the paths of life, and to persist in those paths when chosen; and though, like the free and viewless air, it is only by its effects that we discern it, it is the principle of our moral as the air is of our natural health, the soul of our soul, and the shechinah of our bodily temple. It prepares our hearts for the word of life and engrafts the word in our hearts thus opened; it preserves and refreshes in our memory those principles of action of which we have already perceived the force, for it is the blessing of God and His pervading energy which prospers to our salvation what we learn and what we have learned."

In 1818 he was select preacher to the University of Oxford. The last of these sermons was "On the Atonement," from Romans vi. 3, 4; and in it he says—"Our salvation is then of grace alone,

inasmuch as our admission into the covenant of peace is without any previous virtue and in spite of many previous sins; it is of grace inasmuch as the services which are afterwards required from us have no aptitude in themselves to call down reward from the Most High; it is of grace since to the performance of these very services the strength is furnished from above by Him who not only calls on us to hope, but bestows on us the spiritual gifts by which that hope is sealed and perfected. It is of free grace above all, because we are not only first freely called and afterwards freely strengthened to perform the obligations of our calling, but even where we have neglected our duty, the repentance and faith which were at first our only passports to Christianity, are still suffered to attend us and plead for us, and by the same merits of the Redeemer through which we are justified and sanctified, we are accepted and glorified."

In 1814 he had declined the offer of a prebend of Durham; but in 1817, when Dr Luxmore offered him a stall in St Asaph's Cathedral he accepted it. Some of his hymns were composed and committed to memory to beguile his way to St Asaph while making the necessary and frequent journeys to Wales on horseback.

In 1819 he became a candidate for a vacancy in the preachership of Lincoln's Inn, but was not elected. Another vacancy occurring in 1822 he was chosen to this office. The position was most agreeable to him, "and the more so as it does not take me away from Hodnet more than three months in the year."

Heber's hymns were mainly due to the desire which he felt to improve the service of praise in his own congregation. His first attempt to reform the psalmody was by means of a selection of hymns which he culled from various sources, but this was not immediately successful. He therefore attempted to meet the difficulty by writing hymns for his people, and by requesting the help of his friends, Milman and Southey. He began by publishing a few in 1811 and 1812. These he intended as part of a series or collection for use in public worship, not only in his own congregation but generally.

Bishop Middleton had issued an appeal for funds to found and endow a Mission College in Calcutta. A hearty response was made in England, and of sixty thousand pounds contributed for this purpose, forty-five thousand were the result of a royal letter written in 1819, authorizing collections in every church and chapel in England.

Heber all unconsciously was brought into close contact with Indian missions, and on this wise.

On the Saturday before Whitsunday on which the appointed collection was to be made in the parish church of Wrexham—his father-in-law's congregation—he was asked by Dr Shipley to write "something for them to sing in the morning." He retired to a corner of the room, and at once wrote the first three verses of "From Greenland's icy mountains." The Dean asked—"What have you written?" Heber read the three verses, and they were met with the approving words—"There, there, that will do very well." "No," replied the Poet, "the sense is not complete," and then added the fourth verse, and wished to add a fifth; but to this his father-in-law would not consent; and the hymn, as we have it, was sung next morning in Wrexham Church. Such was the occasion of one of the greatest missionary hymns in the language, being composed as if by inspiration. Many years afterwards, Dr Raffles of Liverpool found the original MS. of this poem on the printer's file at Wrexham.

Thinking that it might be advantageous to his hymnal to obtain ecclesiastical sanction for its use, he wrote in 1820 to Dr Howley, Bishop of London, requesting his advice as to publishing the hymns by authority, and with the same

approval as had been given to the version of the Psalms by Tate and Brady. He asked Dr Howley if the hymns could receive the "sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury for general use in churches." But Dr Howley, while replying in the kindest and most encouraging terms, did not think it advisable that such ecclesiastical sanction should be given, but advised him to publish the hymns on their merits.

The collection was proceeded with, and among the contributors were Southey, who was then Poet Laureate, Milman, and Sir Walter Scott. Fifty-seven of the hymns were written by Heber himself, the remaining twenty-nine were by these contributors and from other sources, but the volume was not published till 1827, after Heber's death.

The charm and melody of his hymns are to be partly accounted for by the fact that he composed many of them to Welsh and Scottish airs which he had heard and admired. He was the first English hymn writer to add the lyric spirit in sacred poetry to the great objective truths on which hymns must be based; and hence the easily flowing measures in which he writes. Scottish airs seem to have peculiarly delighted him. "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning" was written to the air of "Here awa, there awa, wandering

Willie." It is believed that "Ye banks and braes," "John Anderson my Jo," "Logie o' Buchan," and "Auld Robin Gray" were some of the airs to which others of his hymns were composed.

Dr George Smith gives the following list of Heber's hymns which still hold a place in the front rank of popular approval and use, beginning with "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty," a hymn of which Tennyson expressed such warm approval and which was sung at his funeral.

1. Holy, Holy Holy, Lord God Almighty.
2. From Greenland's icy mountains.
3. The Lord of might from Sinai's brow.
4. The Son of God goes forth to war.
5. Hosanna to the living Lord.
6. O Saviour is Thy promise fled?
7. O King of earth and air and sea.
8. Forth from the dark and stormy sky.
9. O Lord, turn not Thy face away.
10. O most merciful, O most bountiful.
11. God that madest earth and heaven.
12. Thou art gone to the grave.
13. The winds were howling o'er the deep.
14. I praised the earth in beauty seen.
15. Brightest and best of the sons of the morning.
16. By cool Siloam's shady rill.
17. Incarnate Word, who wont to dwell.
18. The God of glory walks His round.
19. The Lord will come, the earth shall quake.
20. O Saviour, whom this holy morn.
21. Jerusalem, Jerusalem! enthroned once on high.

Other literary labours occupied the intervals of

a busy life. Among these were articles written for the *Quarterly Review*: but the principal works of this kind were a Dictionary of the Bible designed to supply the defects of Calmet, but left unfinished owing to his early death; and a new edition of the *Works of Jeremy Taylor with his life, and critical examination of his writings.* Between Jeremy Taylor and Reginald Heber there was close affinity of soul, and the task was congenial. Of Jeremy Taylor he uses words which may well be applied to himself, describing him as a saint and a Christian bishop from our intercourse with whom we rise "impressed and softened, with a sense how much our own practice yet needs amendment, and how mighty has been that faith of which these are the pledges and prehibitions."

God prepares His workers for the work to which He has called them; and Heber was being gradually trained and prepared for mission work in India. Among those preparatory influences was his enthusiastic advocacy of the claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The ministers of the Church of England were at first prejudiced against the Bible Society on the ground that they supposed it to be hostile to the interests of the Established Church. The disappearance of those

prejudices was partly due to Heber's defence of the society; and it was in its behalf that he preached at Shrewsbury the first of his missionary sermons from Rev. xiv. 6, "I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred and tongue and people."

Another of the influences which prepared him for India was the career of Henry Martyn. Long before he had any idea that he should follow in Martyn's footsteps, he had watched with interest the journeys and the work described in Martyn's "*Life*." "With Martyn he had, in idea, traversed the sultry regions of India, had shared in his privations, had sympathised in his sufferings, and had exulted in the prospects of success occasionally opened to him."

His interest in Indian missions was increased when the first Anglican bishop, Dr Middleton, was appointed; but he little thought that he himself should succeed that prelate. When the news of Dr Middleton's death arrived in England —five months after it had occurred, so slow was communication in those days—many eyes were turned to Hodnet for one fitted to succeed him. The nomination of a new bishop was in the hands

of Heber's old college friend, the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn, the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. In December 1822, a letter was written by Mr Wynn to Heber, intimating that the appointment was now offered to him if he chose to accept of it.

In his interim reply, Heber suggested the propriety of dividing India into three dioceses, and of raising the three archdeacons in India to the rank of bishop, one of whom, the Bishop of Calcutta, might then be made the Primate.

After family consultation he wrote declining the appointment; but a fortnight's further consideration led him to withdraw his refusal, and he "cheerfully and gratefully" accepted the position. In his letter to Mr Wynn, he writes:— "The sacrifice which I would not make for the sake of wealth and dignity, both my wife and myself will cheerfully make in order to prevent any serious inconvenience to a cause of so much importance."

To the remark of a friend—"Yours is the very quixotism of religion. I suppose you are going in search of the lost ten tribes of Israel," he replied, "I think I can be of use among the natives; such will at least be my earnest endeavour, and I am very zealous in the cause; and

if I am permitted to rescue one miserable Brahmin from his wretched superstition, I shall think myself amply rewarded for the sacrifice."

His leave-taking from home and church and friends showed how deeply he was loved.

His last sermon at Lincoln's Inn was from Colossians iii. 3—"For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." The subject was the Atonement and its place in the Christian religion, "its corner stone and master-key, the vicarious and expiatory nature of the Christian sacrifice."

On 1st June he was consecrated second Bishop of Calcutta. The ceremony took place in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace.

On the 16th of the same month he left England for Calcutta to be, as he declared to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, the chief missionary of the Society in the East. He was forty years of age, and in the fulness of his strength and manhood.

The ship in which the Bishop and his wife and daughter sailed was the *Thomas Grenville*; and he kept a very full diary, both of this voyage and of the journeys which he afterwards made in India. These journals were published, and it shows how very full our own day is of travel and adventure when we read with astonishment

that Bishop Heber's *Indian Journal* was the most popular work on India published in the first half of the nineteenth century. Lord Jeffrey's criticism of it was in these very high terms—"Independently of its moral attraction, we are induced to think it the most instructive and important publication that has ever been given to the world on the actual state and conditions of our Indian Empire."

The old days of general and studied disrespect to missions were passing away, as is seen by contrasting the treatment which Henry Martyn received on shipboard in his endeavour to do good to the passengers and crew with such an entry as this by Bishop Heber:—"June 22. This day being Sunday, the decks were all beautifully clean, having been well scrubbed on Saturday night. The awning was spread over the quarter deck, and the capstan and sides of the vessel concealed and ornamented with flags of different nations. Chairs were set for the officers and passengers on the poop and round the after part of the deck, and spars laid across the remainder as seats for the sailors who attended church in clean shirts and trousers, and well washed and shaved. In the space between the capstan and half-deck was a small table set for me and the purser, who acted as clerk, and I read prayers

and preached one of my Hodnet sermons, slightly altered, to a very attentive and orderly congregation of altogether, I should think, one hundred and forty persons. The awning made really a handsome church, and the sight was a very pleasing one."

During the voyage he spent much time in studying Hindustani and Persian, and to such good purpose that on entering on his work in India he was able at once to use Hindustani in public worship.

On 3rd October the *Thomas Grenville* anchored in Saugor Roads, and Heber at once plunged into the arrears of ecclesiastical business awaiting him. At Calcutta he received a warm welcome from the Governor, Lord Amherst. The following prayer which he now wrote out shows the spirit in which he entered on his Indian duties:—"Accept, O Blessed Lord! my heartiest thanks for the protection which Thou hast vouchsafed to me and mine during a long and dangerous voyage, and through many strange and unwholesome climates. Extend to us, I beseech Thee, Thy fatherly protection and love in the land where we now dwell; and among the perils to which we are now liable give us health, strength and peace of mind. Give us friends in a strange land, and favour in the eyes

of those around us. Give us so much of the world's good as Thou knowest to be good for us; and be pleased to give us grace to love Thee truly, and constantly to praise and bless Thee; through Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen."

Of Calcutta he gives a most interesting description. "Calcutta, when seen from the south, on which side it is built round three sides of a great open plain, with the Ganges on the west, and Fort William standing in the centre, is a very noble city, with tall and stately houses ornamented with Grecian pillars, and each for the most part surrounded by a little apology for a garden. The churches are not large but very neat and even elegant buildings, and the Government House is, to say the least of it, a more showy place than London has to produce. These are, however, the front lines: behind them ranges the native town, deep, black, and dingy, with narrow, crooked streets, huts of earth baked in the sun or of twisted bamboo, interspersed here and there with curious brick bazaars, pools of dirty water, coco trees, little gardens, and a few very large, very fine and generally very dirty houses of Grecian architecture, the residence of wealthy natives. There are some mosques of

pretty architecture very neatly kept, and some pagodas, mostly ruinous and decayed, the religion of the people being most conspicuous in their worship of the Ganges, and in some ugly painted wooden or plaister idols with all manner of heads and hands, which are set up in different parts of the city.

"Fill up this outline with crowds of people in the streets, beyond anything to be seen even in London, some dressed in tawdry silks and brocades, more in white cotton garments; and most of all black and naked, except a scanty covering round the waist; hideous figures of religious mendicants with no clothing but their long hair and beards in elf locks, their faces painted white or yellow, their beads in one ghastly lean hand, and the other stretched out like a bird's claw to receive donations; marriage processions with the bride in a covered chair, the bridegroom on horseback, and so swathed round with garlands as hardly to be seen; tradesmen sitting on the ground in the midst of their different commodities; and old men, lookers-on, perched naked as monkeys, smoking on the flat roofs of the houses; carts drawn by oxen and driven by wild-looking men with thick sticks so unmercifully used as perfectly to undeceive all our notions

of Brahminical humanity; attendants with silver maces peeping through the crowd before the carriage of some great man or other; no woman seen except of the lowest class, yet even these with heavy silver ornaments on their dusky arms and ankles; while coaches covered up close with red cloth are seen conveying the inmates of the neighbouring seraglios to take what is called 'the air'; a constant creaking of cart wheels which are never greased in India; a constant clamour of voices, and an almost constant thumping and jingling of drums, cymbals, &c., in honour of some one or other of their deities; and add to all, a villainous smell of garlic, rancid coco-nut oil, sour butter, and stagnant ditches, and you will understand the sights, sounds, and smells of what is called 'the black town' of Calcutta. The singularity of this spectacle is best and least offensively enjoyed on a noble quay which Lord Hastings built along the shore of the river, where the vessels of all forms and sizes — Arab, Indian, Malay, American, English,—the crowds of Brahmins and other Hindoos washing and saying their prayers, the lighted tapers which toward sunset they throw in, and the broad, bright stream which sweeps them by, guiltless of their impiety and unconscious of their homage, afford a scene such

as no European and few Asiatic cities can at all parallel in interest and singularity."

In the summer of 1824, Christian David, a native of Malabar, was ordained by Heber. This act linked the newly arrived Bishop to Christian Frederick Schwartz and his work in Southern India half a century previously, for Christian David had been one of Schwartz's pupils: previous to his being ordained, the Governor of Ceylon had appointed him to a colonial chaplaincy.

Although in Tranquebar Christian missions had been begun and had made good progress more than a century before Bishop Heber's arrival in India, yet in Bengal it was Carey and his colleagues in the Serampore mission who had made any real attempt to preach the gospel to the natives or to set up schools for their children. It is gratifying, therefore, to find that for two or three years previous to Bishop Heber's landing in Calcutta, schools for native children had been instituted both by the Church Missionary Society and by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, in addition to similar schools already established by the Baptist missionaries. Speaking of a visit which he paid to some of these schools, he says, "You may guess the feelings with which I have entered these huts, on seeing ninety or

a hundred poor little naked urchins seated on the ground like tadpoles, writing their letters in the sand or their copies on Banana leaves, one after another stepping out to read either in English or Bengali the history of Joseph or the Good Samaritan,—proud of showing their knowledge to the 'Lord Padre Sahib' (as they call me by a strange mixture of English, Portuguese, and Indian titles) and many of them able to render a good account of their studies."

In his *Journal* under date December 12th 1823, there is the following entry in connection with an examination of the Native Female Schools instituted by Mrs Wilson. "It was very pretty to see the little swarthy children come forward to repeat their lessons and show their work to Lady Amherst, blushing even through their dark complexions, with their muslin veils thrown carelessly round their slim, half-naked figures, their black hair plaited, their foreheads specked with white or red paint, and their heads, necks, wrists, and ancles loaded with all the little finery they could beg or borrow for the occasion. Their parents made no objection to their learning the catechism or being taught to read the Bible, provided nothing is done which can make them lose caste. And many of the Brahmins themselves, either finding

the current of popular opinion too strongly in favour of the measures pursued for them to struggle with, or really influenced by the beauty of the lessons taught in Scripture, and the advantage of giving useful knowledge and something like a moral sense to the lower ranks of their countrymen and countrywomen, appear to approve of Mrs Wilson's plan, and attend the examination of her scholars."

Among the evil customs then prevalent in India were sutteeism and hook-swinging, of both of which he writes; and both are now happily abolished, the former largely through the influence brought to bear on the Government by William Carey.

With the Baptist missionaries Bishop Heber had pleasant intercourse; "January 15th 1824, Dr Marshman the Baptist missionary from Serampore dined with me. Dr Carey is too lame to go out. The talents and learning of these good men are so well known in Europe that I need hardly say that, important as are the points on which we differ, I sincerely admire and respect them and desire their acquaintance."

In June 1824, Dr Marshman forwarded to the bishop a copy of the report of Serampore College, and the following acknowledgement was sent:—

"I have seldom felt more painfully than while

reading your appeal on the subject of Serampore College the unhappy divisions of those who are servants of the same Great Master. Would to God, my honoured brethren, the time were arrived, when not only in heart and hope, but visibly, we shall be one fold as well as under one Shepherd. In the meantime I have arrived, after some serious considerations at the conclusion that I shall serve our great cause most effectually by doing all which I can for the rising institutions of those with whom my sentiments agree in all things, rather than by forwarding the labours of those from whom in some important points I am conscientiously constrained to differ. After all, why do we differ? Surely the leading points which keep us asunder are capable of explanation or of softening, and I am expressing myself in much sincerity of heart—(though perhaps according to the customs of the world I am taking too great a freedom with men, my superiors both in age and in talent) that I should think myself happy to be permitted to explain, to the best of my power, those objections which keep you and your brethren divided from that form of church government which I believe to have been instituted by the apostles and that

admission of infants to the gospel covenants which seems to me to be founded on the expressions and practice of Christ Himself. If I were writing thus to worldly men I know I should expose myself to the imputation of excessive vanity or impertinent intrusion. But of you and Dr Carey I am far from judging as of worldly men, and I therefore say that if we are spared to have any future intercourse, it is my desire, if you permit, to discuss with both of you in the spirit of meekness and conciliation the points which now divide us, convinced that if a reunion of our churches could be effected, the harvest of the heathen would ere long be reaped, and the work of the Lord would advance among them with a celerity of which we have now no experience.

"I trust at all events you will take this hasty note as it is intended, and believe me with much sincerity,—Your Friend and Servant in Christ,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

"*June* 3, 1824."

In this year, 1824, the Abbe Dubois, a Roman Catholic missionary in the south of India, who had laboured there for twenty years, published a volume on Indian missions, in which he not only

asserted the non-success of Protestant missions, but maintained that any Christian mission to the natives of India was a hopeless undertaking. To this strange publication Dr Marshman replied: and Bishop Heber also did not let it pass unnoticed. In his answer to the Abbe's charges he said, "Though I am far from placing on the same level the Brahminical and the Romish faith; and though as a form—though a corrupt form—of the knowledge whereby men are brought to God I rejoice in every conquest which this latter has made among the heathen, I would rather, should God so far honour me, be the instrument of bringing one idolator to the worship of the one true God and the one Mediator between God and man, than to have persuaded like Xavier my tens of thousands to patter their rosary in Latin instead of Sanskrit, and transfer to the saints the honour which they had paid to the Devtas."

Bishop Heber had spent some eight months in the multifarious duties of his office in Calcutta; and he now began the first visitation of his diocese, that is to say of those parts of it in India proper, for he had the official charge of territories so vast that Ceylon, the Mauritius, and even Australasia were within its limits.

Accompanied by his chaplain Mr Stow he left Calcutta on 15th June on his visitation of the Upper Provinces. Mrs Heber and their children were not able to accompany him. This tour occupied ten months, and in the course of it he visited, among many other places, Dacca, Ghazepoor, Allahabad, Cawnpoor, Lucknow, Delhi and Agra.

They had not gone far when as the pinnace was nearing Dacca, Stow was taken ill, and though Heber devotedly nursed him, the illness ended fatally. "If," said the dying man, "if I lose sight of the Cross, though but for a moment, I am ready to despair, but my blessed Lord makes His mercy and His power more and more plain to me." The Bishop writes, "July 12, I this morning left Dacca after a residence of eighteen days, marked by great and to me most unusual anxiety and sorrow; but during which I, as well as my poor friend, received in our affliction a degree of hospitality, attention, affectionate and delicate kindness from the civil and military officers attached to the station and their families, and most of all from our excellent host, Mr Master, which I shall never forget, and for which I trust I shall be always grateful."

During this visitation he preached over fifty

times and confirmed many hundreds of candidates, and brought strength and cheer to the ministers of the various congregations. All the other duties incumbent on him were also attended to, the visitation of schools, the choosing of sites for churches, the examination of native catechists. In the words of his own hymn, lighted with heavenly wisdom he could not "to men benighted, the lamp of life deny." "I am often obliged to be bishop, chaplain, and curate all in one; and in India, though there may be pluralities, there is verily no sinecure."

"Then on! then on! where duty leads
My course be onward still,
O'er broad Hindostan's sultry mead,
O'er bleak Almorah's hill.

That course, nor Delhi's kingly gates
Nor wild Malwah detain,
For sweet the bliss us both awaits
By yonder western main.

Thy towers, Bombay, gleam bright, they say,
Across the dark blue sea,
But ne'er were hearts so light and gay
As then shall meet in thee!"

At length the wishes which he had woven in these verses were realised, when he reached Bombay on 20th April 1825, and in a few days he

was rejoined by his wife and family who had travelled by sea from Calcutta.

In a letter written to his friend Horton on the races and social customs of Northern India, he says, "Of all idolatries which I have ever read or heard of, the religion of the Hindoos, in which I have taken some pains to inform myself, really appears to me the worst, both in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity; in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies which occupy the time and distract the thoughts without either instructing or interesting its votaries; in the filthy acts of uncleanness not only permitted but enjoined and inseparably interwoven with those ceremonies; in the system of castes, a system which tends more than anything else the devil has yet invented to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder; and in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously and do good to each other. I do not say, indeed, that there are not some scattered lessons of this kind to be found in their ancient books, but those books are neither accessible to the people at large, nor are these last permitted to read them; and in general, all

the sins that a Soodra is taught to fear are, killing a cow, offending a Brahmin, or neglecting one of the many frivolous rites by which their deities are supposed to be conciliated.

"Accordingly, though the general sobriety of the Hindoos (a virtue which they possess in common with most inhabitants of warm climates) affords a very great facility to the maintenance of public order and decorum, I really never have met with a race of men whose standard of morality is so low, who feel so little apparent shame in being detected in a falsehood, or so little interest in the sufferings of a neighbour, not being of their own caste or family; whose ordinary and familiar conversation is so licentious; or, in the wilder and more lawless districts, who shed blood with so little repugnance. The good qualities which there are among them (and, thank God, there is a great deal of good among them still) are, in no instance that I am aware of, connected with or arising out of their religion, since it is in no instance to good deeds or virtuous habits of life that the future rewards in which they believe are promised. Their bravery, their fidelity to their employers, their temperance, and (wherever they are found) their humanity and gentleness of disposition appear to arise ex-

clusively from a naturally happy temperament, from an honourable pride in their own renown and the renown of their ancestors, and from the goodness of God who seems unwilling that His image should be entirely defaced even in the midst of the grossest error. The Musalmans have a far better creed, and though they seldom either like the English or are liked by them, I am inclined to think are, on the whole, a better people. Yet even with them the forms of their worship have a natural tendency to make men hypocrites, and the overweening contempt with which they are inspired for all the world beside, the degradation of their women by the system of polygamy, and the detestable crimes which, owing to this degradation, are almost universal, are such as even if I had no ulterior hope, would make me anxious to attract them to a better or more harmless system.

"In this work, thank God, in those parts of India which I have visited, a beginning has been made, and a degree of success obtained at least commensurate to the few years during which our missionaries have laboured."

In Bombay and Poona he remained for four months. It was with regret he left Bombay: "We had met with much and marked kindness

and hospitality, we had enjoyed the society of several men of distinguished talent, and all my views for the regulation and advantage of the clergy and for the gradual advancement of Christianity had met with a support beyond my hopes and unequalled in any other part of India."

In August he sailed for Ceylon where he spent some time "confirming the Churches." He was much impressed with the progress which the gospel had made in that island, and he specially notices the marked change to be seen in Kandy, where the palace of the late king was. "We went up with the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, who, as well as Lady Barnes, has shown us much attention and kindness, to Kandy, where I preached, administered the sacrament and confirmed twenty-six young people in the audience-hall of the late King of Kandy, which now serves as a church. Here, twelve years ago, this man, who was a dreadful tyrant and lost his throne in consequence of a large party of his subjects applying to General Brownrigge for protection, used, as we were told, to sit in state to see those whom he had condemned, trodden to death and tortured by elephants trained for the purpose. Here he actually compelled by torments the wife of one

of his prime ministers, whom he suspected of plotting against him, to bruise with her own hands two of her children to death with a pestle and large mortar before he put her to death also: and here at that time no Englishman or Christian could have appeared except as a slave or at the risk of being murdered with every circumstance of cruelty. And now, in this very place, an English Governor and an English congregation, besides many converted natives of the island, were sitting peaceably to hear an English bishop preach."

From Ceylon he returned to Calcutta after an absence of sixteen months. His residence in Calcutta for the next few months was marked as usual with much labour, and by friendly intercourse with the Armenians and with missionaries of other denominations.

In the end of January 1826 he left Calcutta for the Southern Provinces on his second tour of visitation. The vessel arrived at Madras on 25th February, and next day, Sunday, he preached in the Residency church from the words "To die is gain:" it was prophetic. Before leaving Calcutta he had been very ill with fever, and during those days in Madras he describes himself as "almost worn out." "I do not eat the bread of

idleness in this country. Since my arrival at Madras little more than three weeks ago, I have preached eleven times (including my visitation charge), have held four public and one private confirmation, visited five schools, attended one public meeting, travelled sixty miles in a palanquin, and one hundred and forty on horseback, besides a pretty voluminous correspondence with Government, different missionaries and chaplains, and my Syrian brother Mar Athanasius, and the thermometer this day stands at ninety-eight in the shade. However I continue, thank God, on the whole to enjoy as good health as I ever did in England. Busy as I am, my business is mostly of a kind which I like and which accords with my previous studies."

The districts south from Madras are those in which Ziegenbalg and Schwartz lived and which they consecrated by their work. About the middle of March he left Madras for the south and visited Pondicherry, Cuddalor, and other places. Arriving in Tanjore he visited Schwartz's Chapel, in which that apostolic man lies buried. On 26th March, Easter Day, he preached in the Mission Church in the fort from Rev. i. 18. This church had been built by Schwartz and contains his monument, erected by

the Rajah. "The group in white marble by Flaxmann represents the good man on his death-bed, Gericke standing behind him, the Rajah at his side, two native attendants and three children of his school around his bed."

In the evening he attended a Tamil service in the same church, when more than thirteen hundred native Christians were present. After this service with full heart he exclaimed, "Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this."

From what he saw in Tanjore and in the adjacent cities and towns, his conviction was, that too little had been said of the work which the gospel had accomplished in the South of India, that the strength of the Christian cause in India lay in those missions, and that it would be a grievous and heavy sin, if the native churches in those parts were not nourished and protected. Comparing Southern India with the other parts of India which he had visited, and with Ceylon, he had seen nothing like the missions of the South, and these, he concluded, were the fields most ripe for the harvest. Time has shown that he was correct. The ingathering of the natives to the Christian Church in Southern India has been on a scale to rebuke our apathy and indiffer-

ence. In the Madras Province alone, the forty thousand native Christians of Heber's day are now increased to some six hundred thousand, with eight hundred native pastors, in addition to two hundred and seventy foreign ordained missionaries.

The Bishop, accompanied by the President, called on the Rajah, Serfojee, who received him in state, and though himself a heathen, talked much "of his dear father," Schwartz, and also said he hoped Bishop Heber would resemble Schwartz and stand in his room.

From Tanjore he proceeded to Trichinopoly, so well known in connection with Schwartz's work there. His intention was to visit Travancore, to act, as he had been requested to do, as a peacemaker or arbiter among the Syrian Christians, and then to return to Madras.

On Sunday 2nd April he preached in Trichinopoly what proved to be his last sermon. The text was 1 John v. 6-8. "This is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ:" and from these words he enforced the meaning of the Atonement by the blood of Christ, and of Regeneration by the Spirit, and of the new power and duty to live as children of God.

Next morning he attended the Tamil church

in the Fort, and then visited the English and Tamil schools. Bidding farewell to the aged missionary Kohlhoff, he returned and visited his chaplain, who was then lying sick. These duties had occupied four hours in the Indian heat of that April morning. Then he retired to bathe before the usual late breakfast. Half an hour later his native servant, alarmed that his master had not reappeared, found the lifeless body in the water. Every effort was immediately used to restore animation, but in vain. Kohlhoff, from whom he had parted only an hour before, exclaimed with tears, "We have lost our second Schwartz, who loved our mission and laboured for it: he had all the energy and benevolence of Schwartz, and more than his condescension."

The bath at Trichinopoly has been restored, and a slab has been erected on the side wall with this inscription, "In memory of the devoted, accomplished and universally honoured servant of God, Reginald Heber, second Bishop of Calcutta, and one of India's truest and most loving benefactors, this stone was erected in the year 1882, at the expense of Government, on the margin of the bath in which he was drowned while bathing, April 3rd 1826. His body was laid under the Chancel of the Church of St John,

Trichinopoly, in the hope of the Resurrection of the just, to Eternal Life through Jesus Christ."

Dr George Smith in his "Bishop Heber, poet and chief missionary to the East," writes, "In India, like Henry Martyn, Heber's aspirations went out after the Hindoos and Mohammedans, while he was full of care for the East India Company's servants and troops, and for the chaplains. Every week he lived, every mile he travelled, caused the missionary fire to burn within him. He combined, as no other foreigner has done, the personal fascination, the influence of a high office and broad culture, the zeal of an evangelical in the best sense, true to the commission of his Master, and the high faculty of organisation directed by business habits and common sense. All this made him the true founder of the Church of England Missions in India and the East."

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation, that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!"

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